HISTORY OF THERAVĀDA BUDDHISM IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Kanai Lal Hazra

History of Theravāda Buddhism in South-East Asia

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with special reference to India and Ceylon

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Preface

THE Theravāda form of Buddhism exists in Ceylon, Burma, Siam (Thailand), Cambodia and in Laos. Theravāda Buddhism is the tie that binds Ceylon with all these countries of South-east Asia. 'Religious Intercourse between Ceylon and Siam in the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries' by S. Paranavitana,[1] 'Ceylon's relations with South-east Asia, with special reference to Burma' by S. Wickremasinghe,[2] 'The establishment of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in Further India' by N.A. Jayawickrama,[3] 'Relations between Burma and Ceylon' by C.E. Godakumbura,[4] 'King Lodaiya of Sukhodaya and his contemporaries' by A.B. Griswold and Prasert na Nagara,[5] and 'Ven'ble Upali's Mission in Ceylon' by Ven. Dr. L. Likhitanonta[6] may well be regarded as important contributions towards the study of this subject. Besides these works, another notable contribution to this subject has been made by Prof. Jayawickrama, this being an English translation of the *Jinakālamālī*.[7] His introduction to this book, which contains much historical material relating to the establishment of Sīhaḷa Buddhism in Siam is valuable for the study of Ceylon's links with Siam.

Eminent scholars such as D.G.E. Hall,[8] R.C. Majumdar,[9] Reginald Le May,[10] L.P. Briggs,[11] G. Coedès,[12] John F. Cady[13] and

[1] *JCBRAS*, XXXII, no. 85.
[2] *CJHSS*, III, no. 1, January-June, 1960.
[3] *CA*, May, 1964.
[4] *JBRS*, XLI, part II, December 1966.
[5] *JSS*, January 1972, 60, part I.
[6] *TMB*, 81, May-June 1973.
[7] *TSGEC*, 1967, London.
[8] *AHSEA*, 1964, London.
[9] *CCE*, V, 1957, Bombay, Sd., 1937-38, Dacca; Kambuja KD., 1944, Calcutta.
[10] *TCSEA*, 1954, London; *ACHBAS*, 1938, Cambridge.
[11] *TAKE*, 1951, Philadelphia.
[12] *LEHIL*, 1948, Paris; *TMSEA*, 1966, London.
[13] *TBLC*, 1966, New Jersey.

A.B. Griswold[1] have made fairly detailed studies of the history of South-east Asia. A considerable amount of research has been done on the history of individual countries such as Burma, Cambodia, Siam (Thailand) and Laos. E.T. Aymonier,[2] N.R. Ray[3] and B.R. Chatterjee[4] have made valuable contributions to this study. Some aspects of the religious and cultural history of South-east Asia have been studied in detail, and the study of Ceylon's religious ties with Burma and Siam has received a certain amount of attention. No attempt, however, has so far been made to show the religious and cultural connections among the countries of South-east Asia as a whole. In this work we shall try to show that Ceylon had strong cultural links with her neighbours in South-east Asia. The period from the eleventh century AD onwards is of special significance for the mutual help and co-operation these countries afforded each other for the restoration of the Buddhist Saṅgha and the study of the Buddhist texts. The chief aim of this work is to examine carefully and to evaluate historically the evidence in the primary sources relating to the religious ties that existed among the Theravāda countries.

The subject has been discussed under three headings i.e., religious intercourse between Ceylon and Burma, Ceylon and Siam and Ceylon, Cambodia and Laos. The main reason for the special emphasis on Ceylon is because from about the eleventh century AD onwards the Buddhist countries in South and South-east Asia looked on Ceylon as the fountain-head of Theravāda Buddhism and modelled their religious institutions on those of Ceylon. From that period onwards the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha and Sīhaḷa Buddhism constitute a strong and vitalising force in the religious history of South-east Asia.

This book is a revised version of my thesis 'Religious intercourse among the Theravāda countries from the 11th to 16th centuries AD,' approved for the Ph. D. degree at the University of Ceylon in the year 1968.

Calcutta
1 January 1982

Kanai Lal Hazra

[1] *AA*, II; *PFV*, 1965, Ceylon.
[2] *LC*, 3 vols, 1900–4, Paris.
[3] *AISTBB*, 1946, Calcutta University.
[4] *ICIC*, 1928, Calcutta.

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I should like in particular to thank Prof. K. Gunawardene and Prof. N.A. Jayawickrama of Sri Lanka for their friendly and effective help at various stages of my work. I express my sense of gratitude to Dr. S. Kiribamune of the Department of History of the University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya, Sri Lanka, for her guidance, friendly advice and sympathetic help throughout the period of my staying in Ceylon. She not only gave new insight into various problems of Ceylon's religious history but helped me a lot to learn about Ceylon, its people, its culture and its religions.

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I avail myself of this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to all the authors whose publications I have consulted in my present work. I also take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the authors of the works entitled D.G.E. Hall's *A History of South-East Asia*, John F. Cady's *Southeast Asia* and G. Coedes' *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* from which one map has been drawn for the present work.

I like to mention here my special gratitude to the Ministry of Education, Government of India and the Ministry of Culture, Government of Ceylon for providing me a research grant which enabled me to spend the academic years of 1965-1968 in Ceylon and to carry on my research work to complete the study.

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Calcutta, 1982 Kanai Lal Hazra

Abbreviations

A	Asoke.
AA	Artibus Asiae.
ACHBAS	A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam.
ADM	Asoke and the Decline of the Mauryas.
ADPL	A Dictionary of the Pali Language.
AG	Asoke the Great.
AGI	Ancient Geography of India.
AHIL	A History of Indian Literature.
AHS	A History of Siam.
AHSC	A Historical Survey of Ceylon.
AHSEA	A History of South-East Asia.
AHSHM	A Historical Study of the terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna and the origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism.
AHSI	A History of South India.
AHSL	A History of Sanskrit Literature.
AI	Ancient India.
AIBL	Academi des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
AIC	Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon.
AIK	The Age of Imperial Kanauj.
AIS	Asokan Inscriptions.
AISTBB	An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma.
AM	Asia Major.
AMBH	Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hīnayāna.
AMG	Annales du Musee Guimet.
AN	Aṅguttara Nikāya.
AP	Abhidhamma Philosophy.

APSKID	A Preliminary Study of the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions of Dhammaceti.
ARASB	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Burma.
ARASC	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.
ARASI	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
ARBRIMA	A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago.
ASR	Archaeological Survey Report.
AV	The Ayodhya version of MS of the Jinakālamālī in Cambodian script, believed to be copied in 1794.
B	Burma with special reference to the relation with China.
BBG	British Burma Gazeteer.
BCLV	B.C. Law Volume.
BD	The Book of the Discipline.
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.
Bg	Buddhaghosa.
Bgp	Buddhaghosuppatti.
BHB	Bu-ston, History of Buddhism.
BI	Buddhist India.
BIIA	Buddhism in India and Abroad.
BL	Buddhist Legend.
BO	Buddhism in Orissa.
BP	Buddhaghosa's Parables.
BRWW	Buddhist Records of the Western World.
BS	Buddhistic Studies.
BSI	Buddhist Sects in India.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
BSS	Burma Sketches.
BTLVNI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en vol-kenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie.
BV	Bhismaparvan.
BYB	Bapat, 2500 years of Buddhism.
CA	Ceylon To-day.
CB	Chinese Buddhism.
CCC	Ceylon's Coins and Currency.

CCE	Colonial and Cultural Expansion.
CCMT	Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times.
CDV	Cāmadevivaṁsa.
CHJ	Ceylon Historical Journal.
CII	Corpus Inscriptionnum Indicarum.
CJHSS	Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies.
CJS	Ceylon Journal of Science.
CLR	Ceylon Literary Register.
CM	Ceylon and Malaysia.
CMC	Code du Mahāyāna en Chine.
CMS	Catalogue of the Museum at Sarnath.
CTPE	Ceylon, the Portuguese Era.
CV	Cūlavaṁsa.
CVg	Cūllavagga.
DB	Dialogues of the Buddha.
DBU	Development of Buddhism in Uttara Pradesh.
Dda	Dambadenīvaṁsa.
DEBS	Democracy in Early Buddhist Sangha.
DN	Dīgha Nikāya.
DP	Dhammapadam.
DPA	Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā.
DPPN	Dictionary of Pali Proper Names.
Dpv	Dīpavaṁsa.
DV	Divyāvadāna.
EA	Etudes Asiatiques.
EAU	Elu Attanagaluvamsa.
EB	Epigraphia Birmanica.
EFEO	Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.
EHSB	Early History of Spread of Buddhism.
EI	Epigraphia Indica.
ELLRNT	Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet.
EM	Eastern Monarchism.
EMB	Early Monastic Buddhism.
EZ	Epigraphia Zeylanica.
GB	Gaya and Buddhagaya.
GEB	Geography of Early Buddhism.
GPC	Glass Palace Chronicle.
GS	Girasandesa.
GV	Gandhavaṁsa.

HAB	Hinduism and Buddhism.
HB	History of Burma.
HBC	History of Buddhism in Ceylon.
HBT	History of Buddhist Thought.
HHB	Harvey, History of Burma.
HHV	Hatthivanagallaviharavamsa.
HLF	Histoire de Laos Francaise.
HS	Haṁsasandesa.
HSP	Hakluyt Society Publications.
IA	Indian Antiquary.
IAL	Indian Art and Letters.
IC	Inscriptions du Cambodge.
ICIC	Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly.
IPPA	Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava (Rangoon, 1892).
IS	Indological Studies.
ISCC	Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge.
JA	Journal Asiatique.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JASBNS	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series.
JBRS	Journal of the Burma Research Society.
JCBRAS	Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JKM	Buddhadatta Mahāthera, Jinakalamali.
JPTS	Journal of the Pali Text Society.
JRASGBI	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JRASMB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch.
JSEAH	Journal South-East Asian History.
JSS	Journal of the Siam Society.
KA	Kautilya's Arthaśāstra.
KD	Kambuja Desa.
KS	Kokilasandesa.
LC	Le Cambodge.
LCR	Le Concile de Rajagaha.
LEHII	Le Etats Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie.

LHT	Life of Hiuen Tsiang.
LLG	Life or Legend of Gaudama.
Lsbpv	Les sects bouddhiques du petit vehicule.
LV	Lalita Vistara.
LWB	The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa.
MBO	Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa.
Mhv.	Mahāvaṁsa.
Mhv. tr.	Mahāvaṁsa (English Translation).
MIB	Manual of Indian Buddhism.
Mkv.	Mahākarmavibhaṅga.
Mlp.	Milindapañha.
MN	Majjhima Nikāya.
MP	Mārkandeya Purāṇa.
MRP	Manorathapuraṇī.
MS	Mānāvulu Sandesaya.
MTP	Matsya Purāṇa.
MV	Mahāvagga.
MVT	Mahāvastu.
ORC	Obscure Religious Cult.
PB	Psalms of the Brethren.
PES	The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.
PED	The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary.
PFV	Paranavitana Felicitation Volume.
PHAI	Political History of Ancient India.
PLB	Pali Literature of Burma.
PLC	Pali Literature of Ceylon.
PP	The Path of Purification.
PRC	Portuguese Rule in Ceylon, 1594-1612.
PS MK	Pāpañcasudānī Majjhimanikāyatthakatha.
PTS	Pali Text Society.
PV	Pujāvaliya.
PY	Poṅsavadan Yonok.
NAGB	Notes on the Ancient Geography of Burma.
NBD	Nyānatiloka, Buddhist Dictionary.
NCP	Narendracaritāvalokapradipikāva.
NIA	New Indian Antiquary.
Nks. tr.	Nikāyasaṅgraha (English translation).
NS	Nālaka Sutta.
RIS	Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam.
RK	Rājaratnakara.

RPGEA	Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia.
RSASB	Report of the Superintendent Archaeological Survey of Burma.
RV	Rājāvaliya.
Sas.	Sāsanavaṁsa.
SBB	Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
SBIB	Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma.
Sbn.	Sihiṅgabuddharūpanidāna.
Sd.	Suvarnadvīpa.
Sds.	Saddhammasaṅgha.
SGAMI	Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India.
SK	Sandesakathā.
SL	Sarvāstivāda Literature.
SN	Samyutta Nikāya.
SNP	Sutta Nipāta.
Spv.	Suḷupūjāvaliya.
SV	Sāntiparvan.
Svd.	Sāsanavaṁsadīpa.
TAKE	The Ancient Khmer Empire.
TASMS	The Asiatic Society Monograph Series.
TB	An Introduction to Tāntric Buddhism.
TBLC	Thailand, Burma, Laos and Cambodia.
TBR	The Buddhist Review.
TBT	The Bhilsa Topes.
TCSEA	The Culture of South-East Asia.
TDFLSH	These pour le doctorat de la Faculte des Lettres et Sciences Humainea de l'Universite de Paris.
TGBI	Taranatha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, aus den Tibetischen Ubersetzt von A. Schiefner, St. Peters, 1869.
TGGIS	The Journal of the Greater India Society.
TGK	The Golden Khersonese.
THCPATC	The History of the Civilization of the People of Assam to the twelfth century AD.
TICS	The Indian Colony of Siam.
TKL	The Kamala Lectures.
TMB	The Mahābodhi.
TMCS	Traites de morales des Cambodgiens du XIVe au

	XIXe siecles.
TMSEA	The Making of South-East Asia.
TPOSS	The Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit Series).
TSCC	Temporary and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon.
TSGEC	N.A. Jayawickrama, Pali Text Society, Translation Series, no. 36. The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror, Ratanapañha thera of Thailand with an introductory essay by Dr. Saeng Manavidura.
TSS	The Siam Society.
TSSFACP	The Siam Society Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Publication.
TSSJ	The Siam Society Journal.
TSUL	Thesis submitted to the University of London.
UCHC	University of Ceylon History of Ceylon, I, 1959-60.
UCR	University of Ceylon Review.
V	Vinaya.
VM	Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa.
VV	Vanaparvan.
WYC	Watters' Yuan Chwang.



Chapter 1

Introduction and Sources

Sources

THE main sources on which our work is based may broadly be classified under the following heads: literary and archaeological. Literary sources include both indigenous and foreign sources. Although the local chronicles and other semi-historical literary works are useful, they suffer from chronological and other defects. In this study the archaeological sources proved more useful and reliable than the literary sources.

The eleventh century AD is significant in the religious and cultural history of south-east Asia. From this period onwards Buddhist countries in south-east Asia came into close contact with Ceylon, which played an important role in the establishment and development of the Theravāda form of Buddhism in south-east Asia. It is evident from our sources that of all the south-east Asian countries Ceylon's relations with Burma were the closest. Among the literary sources for this study, the most important is the Ceylon chronicle, the Cūlavaṁsa.[1] It is traditionally known that the thera Dhammakitti was the author of the first portion of the *Cūlavaṁsa*. The second portion consists of eleven chapters. It gives a history of kings from the reign of Vijayabāhu II to that of Parākramabāhu IV. Its author is still unknown. The thera Tibbotuvave was the author of the third portion which brings the chronicle down to the reign of Kitti-Siri-Rājasiṁha (AD 1767-1782), the last independent king of Ceylon. This portion has ten chapters. The *Cūlavaṁsa* affords us valuable information regarding religious and cultural ties between Ceylon and Burma. The statements relating to these ties in this book are

[1] *CV, PTS.*

very often corroborated by inscriptions, proving the *Cūlavaṁsa* a reliable and trustworthy source. Although this book forms the main source for the religious intercourse between these two countries, it is silent on the religious ties between Ceylon and Burma in the reigns of Parākramabāhu I (AD 1153-1186), Parākramabāhu VI (AD 1412-1468) and Bhuvanekabāhu VI (AD 1473-1480). The silence of the Ceylon chronicle is perhaps not surprising as it is mainly interested in developments affecting Ceylon. Perhaps the coming of south-east Asian monks to Ceylon seeking the valid ordination and other assistance from the Sinhalese monks was of such common occurence that the chroniclers did not consider them to be of special significance.

The Sinhalese text, the *Pūjāvaliya*,[1] a work attributed to the reign of Parākramabāhu II (AD 1236-1276), refers to Ceylon's religious intercourse with Burma in the reign of Vijayabāhu I (AD 1065-1120). *The Nikāyasaṅgrahava*,[2] another Sinhalese text, was written by the Mahāthera Jayabāhu surnamed Devarakkhita during thereign of king Virabahu II (AD 1391-1397). It throws some light on religious links between Burma and Ceylon in the eleventh century AD. *The Mānāvuḷu Sandesaya* or *Mahānāgakula Sandesaya*[3], a Pali fragmentary poem, proves an interesting source. It is addressed to Kassapa Mahāthera of Burma by Nāgasena of Rohaṇa in Southern Ceylon. It is an important testimony to the close cultural and religious ties between Ceylon and Burma in the thirteenth century AD. The references in the Mānāvuḷu Sandesaya to Kassapa Mahāthera and Ñāṇa, a Burmese minister, are corroborated by several inscriptions found in Burma.[4]

There are several Burmese sources which afford us information regarding Burma's religious and cultural ties with Ceylon The most important of these are the Glass Palace Chronicle,[5] the *Sāsanavaṁsa*,[6] *the Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi*[7] and the Kalyāṇī inscriptions.[8] Several references to religious contact between Ceylon and Burma in the Glass Palace Chronicle are corroborated by the *Sāsanavaṁsa*

[1] *PV*, pp. 33-34. [2] *NKS*, Eng. trans. pp. XXXII and 19.
[3] *MS*, *JRASGBI*, 1905, p. 265.
[4] A list of inscriptions found in Burma, Part I (Rangoon, Superintendent Government Printing, Burma), 1921, p. 41; *IPPA*, III, No. 6, p. 101; IV, No. 3, p. 117; VII, No. 16, p. 184; X, No. 15, p. 243.
[5] *GPC*. [6] *Sas*. [7] *TSS*, V, 1959.
[8] *IA*, XXII.

and Burmese inscriptions. Although it is one of the main sources for the study of Burma's religious history and its connections with Ceylon, certain statements in it prove confusing and of doubtful authenticity. The details regarding Anuruddha's dealings with Ceylon are not very clear and such information has to be studied in conjunction with other sources. *The Sāsanavaṁsa* of Paññāsāmi, attributed to the second half of the nineteenth century AD, is a general history of Buddhism in Burma. Many important events mentioned in the *Sāsanavaṁsa* are corroborated by the Kalyāṇī inscriptions. But certain details regarding the religious intercourse between Burma and Ceylon are rather confused. For example, the *Sāsanavaṁsa* refers to the four great warriors who went from Burma to the island of Laṅkā to bring the copies of the Tipiṭaka during the reign of Anuruddha.[1] This episode does not find any support from any other source. In another place, the *Sāsanavaṁsa* mentions that the king in the Rāmañña country did not allow two Sinhalese Mahātheras from Ceylon to land at Kusima in Lower Burma in the first half of the fifteenth century AD.[2] This seems doubtful when the religious history of both Burma and Ceylon shows that close religious ties existed between the two countries at this time.

The Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi, which was compiled in AD 1829,[3] gives the history of Burma down to AD 1752.[4] We have utilised this source in connection with Burma's cultural relations with Ceylon in the sixteenth century AD. According to this chronicle, Dharmapāla of Ceylon (AD 1551-1597), was a zealous Buddhist and he played an important role in the development of Buddhism in Ceylon with the help of the Burmese king Bayin Naung. The *Cūlavaṁsa* makes no mention of Dharmapāla. It is known that Dharmapāla was a convert to Christianity,[5] and that his actions did not further the cause of Buddhism. Therefore it is very difficult to say whether the facts relating to Dharmapāla's dealings with Burma are very accurate. Apart from indigenous sources the work of the two Portuguese writers Joao de Barros and Diogo de Couto[6] refers to Burma's cultural ties with Ceylon. But the confused nature of the record regarding Dharmapāla's dealings with the Burmese king and the Kandyan king's claim as the possessor

[1] *Sas*, p. 64. [2] ibid, p. 90. [3] *TSS*, V, p. 3.
[4] *AISTBB*, p. 95. [5] *PRC*, p. 11. [6] *JCBRAS*, XX, 1908.

of the genuine tooth relic throws a great deal of doubt on the historical value of the statements in the Portuguese sources.

Several Sinhalese inscriptions provide us with important evidence relating to Ceylon's cultural ties with Burma. The Poḷonnaruva Slāb inscription of the Velaikkāras[1] and the Poḷonnaruva inscription of Vijayabāhu I[2] refer to Ceylon's connections with Burma in the eleventh century AD. Two inscriptions of the reign of Niśśaṁkamalla found at Poḷonnaruva[3] mention that there were friendly relations between Ceylon and Burma during this time. An ola leaf manuscript,[4] the Kaḍadora Grant found in Ceylon, refers to religious intercourse between Rakkhaṅgapura (Arakan) in Burma and Ceylon during the sixteenth century AD. This information is corroborated by the *Cūlavaṁsa*, the *Suḷupūjāvaliya* and the *Narendracaritāvalokapradipikāva*. Among the Burmese inscriptional sources, the Kalyāṇī inscriptions of Dhammaceti (AD 1472-1492) are of great importance. These inscriptions were set up under the instructions of king Dhammaceti to record the re-establishment of the valid form of the Upasampadā ordination throughout Burma with the help of the Sinhalese monks. Although they belonged to the second half of the fifteenth century AD they trace the history of Buddhism in Burma from a much earlier period and give us a fairly comprehensive picture of Burma's religious and cultural ties with Ceylon up to the fifteenth century AD. The evidence in them relating to the religious intercourse between the two countries from about the eleventh century AD onwards appears to be based on trustworthy tradition.

Siam is the next important country with which Ceylon had a fair amount of cultural intercourse. Nothing, however, is known of Siam's relations with Ceylon before the second half of the thirteenth century AD. The Siamese source, the *Jinakālamālī*,[5] which was written in Pali by Ratanapañña thera, a native of Northern Siam in the first half of the sixteenth Century AD, refers to Siam's contact with Ceylon in the reign of Rocarāja of Sukhodaya in the second half of the thirteenth century AD.[6] It presents a valuable information relating to religious intercourse between Ceylon and Siam and the establishment of Sīhaḷa Buddhism in Northern Siam.

[1] *EZ*, II, p. 252.
[2] *EI*, XVIII, p. 331.
[3] *EZ*, II, p. 151; *EZ*, II, p. 155.
[4] *JCBRAS*, II, New Series, 1952.
[5] *BEFEO*, XXV, 1925; *TSGEC*.
[6] ibid, p. 46.

The main points of the *Jinakālamālī* relating to Siam's cultural relations with Ceylon are corroborated by the *Sāsanavaṁsa* and by Siamese inscriptions. Although this book forms the main source for the study of Siam's religious intercourse with Ceylon, certain details mentioned in it are matters of great controversy. The visit of Anuruddha to Ceylon to copy the Tipiṭaka, the arrival of one of his ships with two Piṭakas in Mahānagara (Angkor Thom in Cambodia), the attribution of Anuruddha's reign to the seventh century AD and the miraculous element in the account of Anuruddha's reign[1] lead us to doubt the historical value of this particular section.

The *Cāmadevīvaṁsa*[2] or the history of Cāmadevī is another important chronicle for the study of Siamese Buddhism. It was written by a monk named Bodhiraṁsi whose centre of activities was either at Nabbisipura (Xieng Mai) or at Haripuñjaya (Lampoon). It is a mixture of prose and verse. It is not dated. G. Coedès places its date in the first quarter of the fifteenth century AD.[3] According to Saeng Manavidura,[4] Bodhiraṁsi and Ratanapañña thera, the author of the *Jinakālamālī* belonged to the same period. Prince Damrong is of opinion that it was composed between the second half of the fifteenth century AD and the first half of the sixteenth century AD. Because this period is significant from the religious, literary and cultural history of Northern Siam. From this period onwards Nabbisipura and other regions of Northern Siam came into close contact with Ceylon, which made an important contribution to the introduction and establishment of Theravāda Buddhism and its language Pali there. Under royal patronage and with the help of the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon Nabbisipura became famous as an important centre of Buddhism and Pali literature flourished there. Though the *Cāmadevīvaṁsa* is neither a work of character nor a historical one it proves an interesting source for the study of Buddhism in Northern Siam.

The *Mūlasāsanā*,[5] a history of Buddhism, was written at Nabbisipura in the fifteenth century AD. The colophon to the

[1] *BEFEO*, pp. 54-55.
[2] ibid, XXV, pp. 12ff.
[3] ibid, p. 12; *TSGEC*, *XXV*., p. XLII.
[4] ibid, p. XLVI.
[5] *JSS*, January, 1972, vol. 60, part I.

Mūlasāsanā refers to Braḥ Buddhañāṇa and Braḥ Buddhabukāma as the two authors of the *Mūlasāsanā*. Buddhañāṇa was the fourth abbot or the Saṅgharaja (AD 1418-1429) of the Flower-Garden Monastery at Nabbisipura. It is said that while he was holding the office of the Saṅgharāja he composed some portions of the *Mūlasāsanā*. He was the main author who wrote it first and continued it up to 1429 AD. Buddhabukāma, the second author, composed the last portion of the book. According to some scholars, he was the twelfth Saṅgharāja of the Flower-Garden Monastery and has been identified with Mahākukāmanāṇasāra. Although, in passing, the *Mūlasāsanā* narrates accounts connected with neighbouring countries of Sajjanālaya, Ayuthia, Luang Pra Bang, Nan, Son Gve, it is of considerable value as a book of religious history of Sukhodaya. It throws much light on the religion at Sukhodaya in Lodaiya's (Lothai's) reign. For this reason it has its importance in the history of Buddhism in Northern Siam. This book which deals with the introduction and establishment of Buddhism in Siam in the fourteenth century AD refers to the Sinhalese monk Anumati, who was known as Udumbarapupphā Mahāsamī. He was the disciple of a reputed Sinhalese Mahāthera Mahākassapa, the Saṅgharāja of the Udumbara Araññavāsī Fraternity (Forest Monastery) of Ceylon. It is possible to treat the story of the Mūlasāsanā relating to Udumbarapupphā Mahāsāmī as fairly accurate.

The *Saṅgītivaṁsa* or the *Saṅgītiyavaṁsa*[1] or the History of the Recitals, was written at Bangkok of the kingdom of Siam in 1789 AD. In order to commemorate the cremation ceremony of His Royal Highness Prince Chudhadhajadhartiloka Kromkhum Bejboon Indrajaya, a son of king Rāma V, Mahā Vajirāvudh or king Rāma VI of the dynasty of Bangkok, published it in 1923 AD.[2] Vimaladhamma, the Thai royal teacher, was the author of this book. He wrote it during the reign of Chao Phaya Chakkri (AD 1782-1809) who was known in Thai history as Rāma I, the founder of the dynasty of Bangkok. The *Saṅgītivaṁsa* is a valuable source for the study of both political and religious history of the kingdom of Ayuthia in Siam. It gives the history of the establishment of the kingdom of Ayuthia, its rulers, its fall, its political importance

[1] *BEFEO*, XIV, pp. 1ff. [2] *BYB*, p. 44 fn. 1.

in Siam and its relation with the neighbouring countries. It also mentions the important contributions made by the kings of Ayuthia in the development of Buddhism in Siam. It has a more or less complete record of Ayuthia's social, political, cultural and religious history. It has its importance in the history of Buddhism in south-east Asia . . . From about the eleventh century AD onwards Ceylon played a great role in the history of Buddhism in south-east Asia. Whenever the Buddhist countries in this region were in trouble regarding religious affairs they sought Ceylon's help and the latter offered maximum assistance to solve their problems. But in the eighteenth century AD. Buddhism suffered in Ceylon. With the help of the Siamese monks Ceylon established its religion. This was no doubt a significant event in the history of Buddhism of both Ceylon and Siam. The *Saṅgītivaṁsa* presents valuable informations relating to the religious intercourse between Siam and Ceylon and the development of Buddhism in the regions of south and south-east Asia.

Dhammakitti thera,[1] a native of Ayojjhapura (or Ayuthia) in Southern Siam, was the author of the *Saddhammasaṅgha*. It was written in the fourteenth century AD. It provides us with valuable information relating to Siam's religious and cultural ties with Ceylon in the fourteenth century AD. A Sinhalese manuscript belonging to the eighteenth century AD was written by Vilbagedara Nayidā, an envoy from Ceylon who went to Siam in the middle of the eighteenth century AD.[2] It refers to Siam's cultural ties with Ceylon in the sixteenth century AD. It is corroborated by an inscription found in Siam.[3]

Inscriptions are the most important and trustworthy source of our study. Several Siamese inscriptions such as Nagara Jum inscription,[4] the Sumanakūṭaparvata inscription,[5] the Wat Mahādhātu inscription of Sukhodaya,[6] the Khau Kap inscription,[7] the Buddhapāda inscription of the Wat Pavaranivesa[8] and two inscriptions found at the monastery of the Mango Grove to the west of Sukhodaya,[9] help us in this study. Inscriptions which relate to Siam's cultural ties with Ceylon date from the middle of the thirteenth century AD onwards. It is noteworthy that even

[1] *Sds*, *JPTS*, 1890, p. 90.
[2] *CJHSS*, 2, No. 1, 1959, pp. 37-80.
[3] *RIS*, I, pp. 157ff.
[4] ibid, I, pp. 84ff.
[5] ibid, I, pp. 123ff.
[6] ibid, pp. 49ff.
[7] ibid, pp. 145ff.
[8] ibid, pp. 151ff.
[9] ibid, pp. 97-109.

the literary sources do not shed any light on the period prior to the thirteenth century AD. The more important evidence of the literary sources is very often corroborated by the inscriptions referred to above. They also provide us with supplementary evidence relating to Siam's relation's with Ceylon.

The literary sources and inscriptions relating to Cambodia's cultural and religious ties with neighbouring Buddhist countries are meagre and the evidence for this study is of an indirect nature. There are occasional references to Cambodia's relations with Ceylon in the Cūlavaṁsa,[1] the Glass Palace Chronicle,[2] the *Jinakālamālī,* the Kalyāṇī inscriptions,[4] the inscriptions of Niśśaṁkamalla (AD 1189-1198)[5] and the Wat Keo inscription found at Laos.[6] From them a certain amount of information is forthcoming but definite conclusions are not always possible.

The religious history of Cambodia shows that Śaivism and Mahāyānism pre-dominated there in the eleventh and twelfth centuries AD. But at the end of the thirteenth or at the beginning of the fourteenth century AD there is evidence of Theravāda Buddhism. At this time Ceylon played an important role in the religious and cultural history of south-east Asia. Sīhaḷa Buddhism had already made a strong impact on both Burma and Siam. It is perhaps this new wave of Buddhism which swept into Cambodia as well. The influence of Theravāda Buddhism might have been felt directly from Ceylon or indirectly through Siam. However, one cannot escape the feeling that Ceylon was the ultimate source of Theravāda Buddhist inspiration in Cambodia as was the case in Burma and Siam.

[1] *CV*, LXXVI, vv. 20-25. [2] *GPC*, p. 143. [3] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 49.
[4] *IA*, XXII, p. 29. [5] *EZ*, II, pp. 152, 156 and 70.
[6] *BEFEO*, XVII, pp. 165ff.

Chapter 2

India : Introduction, Development and Decline of Buddhism in India

THE sixth century BC was an age of far reaching religious reforming activity over the whole of the ancient world. Greece in this period witnessed the rise of Parmenides and Empedocles. China saw the appearance of Laotse and Confucius, and there was a remarkable intellectual and religious ferment in India in this period.

This century is an important landmark in the history of the religion of India. Brahmanism was the leading religion of the country upto this period, and Brahmin priests took the leading parts in all religious ceremonies. People also used to worship the Yakṣas, the Gandharvas, the Vṛiksas, Devatās, the Nāgas etc. But the rise of Buddhism in the sixth century BC marked the end of the predominance of the Brahmanic period. The Buddha introduced his religion in this century. His father was Suddhodana, the chieftain of a Śākya clan. He ruled from Kapilāvastu (Kapilavatthu) over a small kingdom in the north-east part of the United Provinces and the neighbouring Districts of Southern Nepal. His wife was Māyā or Mahāmāyā of the Śākya clan. It is said that she, in her sleep, saw a dream about her arrival in the Anotatta lake in the Himālayas by four Cātummahārājikā gods. There she saw that the Bodhisattva appeared in the shape of a white elephant from the north and after encircling her rightwise three times entered her womb on the final day of the Āṣāḍha (Asāḷha) festival in Kapilavatthu.[1] Then she conceived. Next day she narrated her dream to

[1] *LV*, p. 63; *MIB*, p. 63.

the king who sought the advice of the astrologers for interpretations of her dream. They told him that she would give birth to a son who would be either a Universal Monarch or he would leave this world to become a Buddha, an Enlightened One. After ten months she wanted to visit her parents at Devadaha. While she was on her way to her parents' place she gave birth to a son under the shade of a Sāla tree in Lumbini near the ancient town of Kapilavatthu. Mahāmāyā died when the prince was seven days old. He was then brought up by his aunt and stepmother Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī (Gotamī). The prince was known as Siddhārtha (Siddhattha)[1] after five days of his birth.[2] He was also called Gautama (Gotama).[3] He was also known as Śākyasiṁha as he was born in a Śākya family. Under the able guidance of his teacher Viśvāmitra the young prince performed marvellous feats of strength. When he was sixteen years old, he married Yaśodharā, the daughter of king Daṇḍapāṇi of the Koliyan republic. He lived with her in luxury for several years and they had a son named Rāhula. When he heard the news of his son's birth he uttered these words 'Rāhula (hindrance) has been born, a bond has come into being'.[4] He gave his son's name Rāhula.

King Suddhodana took all measures to prevent his son from leaving the world. He did all possible arrangements for Siddhārtha's enjoyments in order to retain his affections and prevent him from undertaking a vow of solitariness and poverty. For him he built three beautiful palaces—one for the summer season, one for the rainy season and another for the winter season. He also appointed dancing girls for his enjoyment and worldly pleasures. He endeavoured to keep away from him the 'four sights—an old man, a sick, a corpse, a monk'—the sight of which, it had been announced, would move him to enter upon the ascetic life. He engaged heavy guards at the palace gates. He did not allow anybody to come

[1]The meaning of Siddhārtha is 'he who has achieved his object'.—*HAB*, I, p. 133 Siddha in Pali means accomplishment ;or fulfilment. Attha has the meaning of benefit or advantage.; *TKL*, p. 9.

[2]*MVT*, II, p. 26.

[3]'This was the name of his gotra or gens and roughly corresponds to a surname, being less comprehensive than the clan name Śākya. The name Gotama is applied in the Piṭakas to other Śākyas such as the Buddha's father and his cousin Ānanda.'—*HAB*, I, p. 133.

[4]Rāhulo jato, bandhanaṃ jātaṃ.

into the palace without permission so that nothing could happen in the mind of the prince on seeing anything. One day the prince expressed his desire to go to the pleasure garden. The king made all arrangements for it. While the prince was on his way to pleasure garden he saw an old man on the first day. He asked the charioteer, Channa about this man. He told him that he was an old man and every living being was destined to become like him. The prince felt very much at this sight and returned to the palace. On the second day he saw a sick man. On the third day he saw a corpse. On the fourth day he saw a person with yellow robe. He knew from the charioteer that he was an ascetic who had left his home and had no bindings and was trying to make himself free from the cycles of existence. On seeing these four sights he moved so much that he felt a strong inclination to leave the world. He realised the impermanence of all worldly things and made up his mind to leave the world and wanted to go to the forest for meditation and to attain the highest immortality. His determination was strengthened by a woman of the palace whom he found asleep in all manners of uncomely attitudes. He determination was further strengthened by the utterance of a lady named Kisā Gotamī who on seeing him from the balcony of her palace expressed her feelings:

"Happy, indeed, is the mother,
Happy, indeed, is the father,
Happy, indeed, is the wife,
Who possesses such a husband."[1]

After her speech, the prince became very glad and gave her his necklace and he said to himself that I will search for the peace of Nirvāṇa. He then paid a final visit to his wife and child in the inner chamber of the palace and on the full moon day of Āṣāḍha Siddhārtha left the palace and the city on horseback with Channa, the charioteer. He then crossed the regions of the Śākyas, the Koliyas and the Mallas in the night and came to the Anuvaineya town of the Maineyas in the morning.[2] Here he told

[1]Nibbutā nuna sā mātā,
Nibbuto nuna so pitā,
Nibbuta nuna sā nārī,
Yassāyaṃ īdiso pati.

[2]*MVT*, II, pp. 164ff; *LV*, p. 227.

Channa, "Take my ornaments, and return with horse. I am going to become an ascetic."[1] He then cut off his hair, took the yellow robe and became a monk.

Siddhārtha then visited the city of Vaiśāli (Vesāli). Here he came to the hermitage of Ārāḍa Kālāma (Āḷāra Kālāma), a renowned philosopher,[2] who had attained the seventh stage of meditation (samāpatti) called akiñcanyāyatana in which one's mind seeks nothing.[3] He accepted Āḷāra Kālāma as his teacher and spent some days with him at his hermitage. But he did not like his philosophy and left him soon. From there he went to Rājagaha (Rājagṛha, modern Rājgir), the capital of Magadha. Here he met the king Seniya Bimbisara who obtained from him a promise that after attaining enlightened he would again come to his kingdom and give him instruction in true knowledge. He then came to the hermitage of Rudraka Rāmaputra (Uddaka Rāmaputta), another famous philosopher in Rājagaha.[4] He had reached the eighth stage of meditation (samāpatti), called naivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñāyatana in which the sense-perception is neither active nor dead.[5] From Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta he knew the successive stages of ecstatic meditation (samāpatti).[6] But he soon understood that this was not the path leading to enlightenment. He then came to Uruvelā (Uruvilva, modern Bodh Gayā, six miles south of Gayā town) and stayed at the Gayāśīrsa (Gayāsīsa) hill.[7] Here he met the Pañcavaggiyas, i.e., the five mendicants.[8] From there he reached Uruvilva-Senāpatigrāma or Senānigrāma (Uruvelā-senāpatigāma) where he engaged himself in rigorous ascetic practices. He gave up his food and became so thin that he was reduced to a skeleton. But he then understood that rigorous asceticism was not the path to enlightenment. He then wanted to change his path and intended to take food. Here he met Sujātā, daughter of the landowner Senānī, who offered him the bowl of milk-rice. He ate that after a fast of fortynine days. He then sat down under the Bodhi tree for his attainment of final liberation. With a strong determination he uttered these words: 'Let my skin, my nerves and bones waste away, let my life-blood dry up, I will not leave this seat before attaining perfect

[1] *MIB*, p. 17. [2] *MN*, I, pp. 80ff. [3] *DBU*, pp. 58-59.
[4] *MN*, I, pp. 80ff. [5] *DBU*, I, pp. 58-59. [6] *MIB*, p. 18.
[7] *LV*, pp. 248 ff; *MN*, I, pp. 77ff.
[8] Aññāta-Koṇḍañña, Bhaddiya, Vappa, Mahānāma and Assaji,—*DBU*, p. 74.

enlightenment."[1] In the first watch of the night in meditation he acquired the knowledge of his former states of existence (pūrvanivāsa, pubbenivāsa). In the second watch of the night he saw the nature of all beings through his divine eyes (divyacakṣu, dibbacakku). In the last watch of the night he acquired the knowledge which uprooted the mental impurities consisting of greed, anger and delusion, and the knowledge of the law of dependent causation (pratītyasamutpāda, paṭiccasamuppāda). He understood that ignorance (avidyā, avijjā) of the truth was the root cause of all worldly sufferings and the removal of it was the only way to achieve goal. He further acquired the knowledge of the four truths (āryasatyas, ariyasaccas): suffering (dukkha), its origin (samudaya), its decay (nirodha) and the path to its decay (magga).[2] At dawn he attained the highest knowledge, the Bodhi and became known as the Buddha, the fully Enlightened One.

After his enlightenment the Buddha under the Bodhi tree sat for seven days thinking the paṭiccasamuppāda dhamma or the law of dependent causation.[3] Then he sat for seven days under the foot of Ajapāla Nigrodha experiencing the happiness of emancipation (vimutti sukha).[4] During this time he narrated the virtues of a true Brahmin to a Brahmin of Huhuṃka tribe.[5] Then he sat down under the Mucalinda tree for seven days and enjoyed the bliss of Nirvāṇa (Nibbāna).[6] On the final day of the seventh week after his enlightenment, the Buddha, under the Tārāyana (Rājāyatana) tree, met two merchants, Tapussa and Bhalluka who were at that time coming from Utkala (Orissa) to Madhyadeśa (Savatthi) with 500 carts.[7] They offered him the food and became his first lay devotees.

The Buddha at first hesitated to preach his new doctrine to the people. But at the request of Brahmā Sahampati he agreed to preach his Dhamma to the people who were spiritually advanced.[8] He wanted to preach his doctrine to Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta. But they were dead. At that time the Pañcavaggiyas were living at the Deerpark called Ṛṣipatanamṛgadāva (Isipatana-migadāya) near Benares.[9] The Buddha in order to preach them his new religion, left Uruvalā for Benares.[10] At the Deerpark he met them

[1]*LV*, V, p. 362. [2]*AMBH*, p. 206. [3]*MV*, I, 1.
[4]ibid, I, 2. [5]ibid, I, 2. [6]ibid, I, 3.
[7]ibid, I, 4. [8]ibid, I, 5. [9]Modern Sarnath.
[10]*MVT*, III, pp. 324-329; *LV*, p. 406.

and his first discourse known as the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta or 'Turning of the Wheel of the Law' was delivered by him to them.[1] In this discourse he mentioned that the easy-life as well as the life of rigorous asceticism were the two extremes and these should be avoided and every body should follow a middle path. He then explained to them the middle path or the noble eightfold path which consisted of right speech, right actions, right livelihood, right exertion, right mindfulness, right meditation, right resolution and right view. Then he expounded the four noble truths i.e., suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering and the path leading to the cessation of suffering.[2] This discourse describes the perfection in the sīlas, way leading to the restrainment over citta and dhyāna and the true knowledge.[3] After this discourse he also delivered to them the Anattalakkhaṇasutta, in which he mentioned the basic doctrine of his religion.[4] It deals with the doctrine of anattā. The Pañcavaggiyas realised the true knowledge through these discourses and wanted to become his disciples. The Buddha ordained them by addressing them with the words "come in, oh Bhikkhus."[5] They also attained arhathood, the final stage of spiritual insight. Immediately after their conversion Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra, Nālaka and Sabhiya, who were all recluses, became Buddhist monks. Yasa, the son of a rich merchant of Benares and his four friends-Vimala, Subāhu, Pūrna (Puṇṇaji) and Gavāmpati, and sons of rich merchants and fifty others became Buddha's disciples.[6] The Buddha then at Uruvelā first converted Uruvelā Kassapa, Nadī Kassapa, Gayā Kassapa and their followers by performing a series of miracles.[7] They were fireworshippers (Jatilas) and hermits with matted hair. Here he explained to them the Fire Sermon or the Ādittapariyāyasutta.[8] In it he mentioned the doctrine of the abandonment of the objects of the senses and these were compared to the fire which destroyed everything it touched.[9] The Jatilas were fireworshippers. That is why the Buddha took the example of fire to explain to them. He converted them according to the 'Etha Bhikkhavo' form of address.[10] The ordination ceremony was then conferred by a very simple way. The Buddha used to address the

[1]*MV*, I, 6; *MN*, I, pp. 79ff.
[2]*DBU*, pp. 175-181. [3]*EMB*, p. 137. [4]*MV*, I, 6; *SN*, III, p. 66.
[5]ibid, I, 6. [6]ibid, I, 7-10. [7]ibid, I, 14-21.
[8]ibid, I, 21. [9]*DEBS*, pp. 18-19. [10]*MV*, I, 20.

bhikkhu or bhikkhus with the words 'come in, oh Bhikkhus' (Ehi Bhikkhu or Etha Bhikkhavo) according as the number of converts was singular or plural. With these disciples numbering over one thousand the Buddha made his first Saṅgha.[1] The first Saṅgha was formed but for the accommodation of the bhikkhus of the Saṅgha there was no vihāra at that time. The Buddha then came to the Laṭṭhivana (Yaṣṭivana) near Rājagaha where he met king Bimbisāra of Magadha and his ministers and courtiers.[2] Here he gave discourse on the transitoriness (anicca) and essencelessness (anattā) of the five khandhas (constituents of being).[3] The king presented the Bamboogrove (Veṇuvana, Veḷuvana) to the Buddhist Saṅgha and became his lay devotee. The Buddha accepted it and stayed there with his followers. This was the establishment of the first Buddhist vihāra. Sāriputta and Moggallana who were originally followers of a heterodox wandering ascetic, Sañjaya,[4] became the Buddha's disciples. They within a very short time became arahats and played an important role in Buddhism. While the Buddha came to Kapilavatthu for his begging round he met his father Suddhodana, wife Yasodharā and his son Rāhula. Here he converted Nanda, the son of Suddhodana to his religion.[5] He then asked Sāriputta to ordain Rāhula as a novice.[6] But Suddhodana was not happy to hear this news. The Buddha also converted Anuruddha, Bhaddiya. Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila. Devadatta and Upāli, the barber.

The Buddha in order to preach his religion sent his disciples to different places and they in their turn used to bring many people for Pabbajjā or admission of persons to the Saṅgha as novices and Upasampadā or admission of novices to the Saṅgha as bhikkhus before the Buddha who personally used to confer them. He then gave permission to his disciples to confer Pabbajjā and Upasampadā on persons on behalf of the Buddha under the Tisaraṇa formula i.e., in the name of the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. Then the rule was issued that a person under the age of twenty would not be able to receive the Upasampadā and at the sametime, a person below the age of fifteen was not in a position to receive the Pabbajjā. But under certain circumstances boys below the age of fifteen got admission into the Saṅgha. A sāmaṇera

[1] *MV*, I, 20. [2] ibid, I, 21. [3] *MVT*, p. 441.
[4] *MV*, I, 24. [5] ibid, I, 54.
[6] *DP*, p. 351; *AMB*, p. 307; *JT*, V, p. 412.

observed ten precepts called Dasa Sikkhāpadāni,[1] after pabbajjā and a monk observed four pārājikas and other rules of the Pātimokkha after Upasampadā. He after Upasampadā was informed about the four great resources (nissayā).[2] Then certain rules were introduced into the Saṅgha regarding its admission. People who were immoral or people who had any liability to the society or to the state were not allowed to join the Saṅgha. The Buddha also did not give permission to join the Saṅgha who were suffering from bodily defects or diseases etc. The Buddha introduced the Uposatha ceremony into his Saṅgha at the suggestion of king Bimbisāra. He also gave order that on the Uposatha day his disciples should recite the Pātimokkha sutta and the Uposatha ceremony was to be held only once in a fortnight either on the 14th or 15th.

At the request of Anāthapiṇḍika, a wealthy merchant, the Buddha visited Sāvatthi (Srāvasti) where Anāthapiṇḍika presented the Jetavana monastery to him for the Buddhist Saṅgha. During his stay at Vesāli (Vaiśālī), the capital of the Licchavis, a quarrel took place between the two tribes, the Śākyas and the Koliyas for water of the river Rohinī. But the Buddha managed the situation tactfully. He converted many Śākyas and Koliyas to Buddhist monks. Here he met Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī (Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī) and many Śākyan and Koliyan ladies who asked the Buddha to give them permission for formation of the Saṅgha of Nuns. The Buddha at first refused to give permission for it. But at the request of Ānanda he gave permission on the condition that nuns should follow eight duties of subordination

[1]The ten precepts are as follows: Refraining from killing life; refraining from taking thing what is not given; refraining from sex life; refraining from telling lie; refraining from drinking liquors, wines etc; refraining from eating food in the afternoon; refraining from going to see the places of entertainments; refraining from taking ointments, flowers, garlands, scents etc; refraining from high and comfortable beds and refraining from receiving gold and silver.—*MV*, I, 57; *DEBS*, pp. 42-43.

[2]It consisted of Piṇḍiyālopabhojanaṃ (the bhikkhus should live on alms), Paṃsukulacivaraṃ (the bhikkhus should wear rugs as their robes collected from dust-heaps), Rukkhamūlasenāsanaṃ (the bhikkhus should live under the trees) and Puttimuttabhesajjam (the bhikkhus should use urine of cows as their medicine).

(garudhammā).[1] Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī agreed with the Buddha and then became nun and formed the Saṅgha of nuns. While the Buddha was dwelling at Benares, he met Mahākaccāyana or Mahākātyāyana, a son of the royal priest of king Caṇḍa Pajjota (Pradyota) of Avanti. He became a Buddhist monk. He made Ujjeni, an important centre of Buddhism, and converted many Brahmins of this region.

When the Buddha was seventy-two years old, Devadatta revolted against the Buddha in the Saṅgha. He was a cousin and brother-in-law of the Buddha and joined the Saṅgha along with Ānanda, Upāli etc. He bore enmity towards the Buddha for his influence and popularity and was jealous of him.[2] He requested the Buddha several times to mention his name as his successor. But the Buddha refused it, Devadatta anyhow earned the confidence of king Ajātaśatru (Ajātasatthu) of Rājagaha who helped him to kill the Buddha. But the king realised his mistake and prayed before the Buddha and became his follower. But Devadatta tried to bring schism in the Saṅgha by disapproving the life of the monks permitted by the Buddha. He became angry when the Buddha refused to agree with him. He won the hearts of 500 Vṛjian (Vajjian) monks from Vesāli who left the Saṅgha with him and went to Gayāsīsa.

At the age of eighty the Buddha expressed his desire to enter into Mahāparinibbāna at Kusinārā (Kusinagara). For this purpose he intended to leave Rājagaha. At that time king Ajātasattu wanted to declare war against the Vajjians of Vesālī. For this purpose he sent Vassakāra Brāhmaṇa, the Governor of Pāṭaliputta

[1]The eight duties of subordination are: "A nun, however, old, must show respect to a monk, but never a monk to a nun;
a nun must not pass vassa in a monastery where there was no monk;
every fortnight a nun was required to ascertain from a monk the date of uposatha and the date fixed for monk's exhortation (oyāda) to the nuns;
a nun must perform pavāraṇā first in the Order of monks and again in the Order of monks;
a mānatta discipline must be taken by a nun first from the Order of monks and then from the Order of monks.
a nun after training in the six pācittiya rules (63-68) of Bhikkhuṇī-pātimokkha, should seek upasampadā from both the Saṅghas the one after another; a nun must not revile a monk; and
a nun must not admonish a monk or fix for the monks any date for uposatha or pavāraṇā." *DBU*, p. 101, fn. No. 1; *Cvg*, X, 1; *EM*, p. 167.

[2]*Cvg*, VII, 1-4.

to the Buddha seeking his help to conquer them. But the Buddha told him that because of certain practices and noble virtues of the Vajjians it would be difficult for the king to conquer them. He then left Rājagaha and after passing through Ambalaṭṭhikā,[1] Nālandā, Pāṭaligāma, Koṭigāma, Nādikā he reached Vesālī. Here he stayed at the Mango grove of Ambapāli and delivered discourses to his disciples. The Buddha then left Vesālī and reached Bhoganagara. Here he gave instruction to his disciples regarding the observance of moral precepts (śīla), meditation (samādhi), acquisition of knowledge (paññā) and attainment of emancipation (vimutti). He then came to Pāvā where at the Mango garden of Cuṇḍa, the blacksmith's son, he stayed with his followers. He fell seriously ill after taking meal. He then came to Kusinārā and took shelter under a tree. He, inspite of his ill health, performed the ordination ceremony of Subhadda (Subhadra), a heretical monk. He then gave instructions to his followers, "Now, monks, I have nothing more to tell you but that all that is composed is liable to decay. Strive after salvation energetically."[2] He also told Ānanda that after him his teachings and his rules would be their teacher and guide. These were last speeches delivered by the Buddha to his disciples. After that he engaged himself into several stages of meditation and entered into Mahāparinibbāna which was marked with earthquake and thunderstrokes.

Spread of Buddhism

During the time of the Buddha Buddhism flourished in several important places in India. Dr. N. Dutt mentions that "During the life-time of the Master, the religion spread all over the central belt of India from Kajaṅgala and Campā on the east to Verañjā and Avanti on the west, and from Rājagaha and Vārāṇasi to Kuśambī, Śrāvastī and Sāketa on the north, as also to the various tribes inhabiting the Himalayan foothills."[3] Dr. A.C. Banerjee also writes that "Buddhism during Buddha's life-time was not confined to the

[1]Between Rājagaha and Nālandā, *MIB*, p. 42 fn. 2.
[2]*MIB*, p. 44. [3]*AIU*, p. 370.

limits of Majjhimadesa.[1] It travelled outside its boundary. It had thus a rapid progress. Towards the east it had spread to Kajaṅgala,[2] to the west to Verañjā close to Madhurā (Mathurā) and to the north to the land of the Kuru."[3] Before the advent of Buddhism Brahmanism was the leading religion of the country. But the Buddha's commanding personality, his simple method of preaching, his miraculous power and new ideas in his religion played so significant role in the minds of the people of the then India that they gave up their old religious and philosophical ideas and embraced the new religion of the Buddha. They accepted his religion and contributed to its development. Here is given below the names of several places where in the time of the Buddha Buddhism prevailed.

Kāsī

Kāsī occupied an important place in the time of the Buddha. At Isipatana near Benares, the chief city of Kāsī, the Buddha, just after his enlightenment, not only visited but delivered his first and second discourses the Dhammacakkapavattana and the Anattalakkhaṇa to the Pañcavaggiyas who became his first disciples. After the conversion of the Pañcavaggiyas the Buddha was able to attract the attention of the common people and he became very popular there. He then converted Yasa, his four friends, and fifty others who belonged to this place. Several laymen and women became his upāsakas and upāsikās. He also came to Kiṭāgiri near Benares. Here he gave a talk against taking food in the night (vikālabhojana). Another place named Khemiyambavana was associated with Buddhism.[4] Here Udena, a Buddhist monk gave a discourse after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha.

[1]"The boundaries of Majjhimadesa are: "To the east is the town Kajaṅgala, and beyond it Mahāsālā. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the south-east is the river Salalavatī. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the south is the town Setakaṇṇika. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the west is the Brāhmaṇa district of Thūna. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the north is the mountain range called Usīradhaja. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country." *BIIA*, p. 48 fn. 20; *SBE*, XVII, pp. 38-39.

[2]Cunningham has identified it with the modern town of Kankajol, eighteen miles south of Rajmahal.

[3]*BIIA*, p. 48 fn. 20.

[4]*MN*, II, p. 157.

Rājagaha

In the kingdom of Magadha Rājagaha, Gayā, Uruvelā and Nālandā were the most important places where the Buddha carried on his missionary work vigorously. Rājagaha, the capital city of Magadha, was a place where he visited several times to propagate his teaching. King Bimbisāra of Magadha, who gave him a very warm welcome at the time of his arrival in the city, worked for the spread of Buddhism in his kingdom. He offered his Bambu grove pleasure-garden to the Buddha for the establishment of the first Buddhist vihāra. He gave order that anyone in his kingdom must not do any barm to the Sākyaputtiya Samaṇas.[1] At his request several rules were framed for the welfare of the Saṅgha. It was because of Bimbisāra Buddha was so successful in his missionary work here. King Bimbisāra along with his ministers and courtiers became his lay devotees. He then converted Sāriputta and Moggallāna with their companions numbering about two hundred and fifty. He also converted paribbājakas (wandering teachers) and householders. At that time existed two classes of paribbājakas—Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical. in Rājagaha. The Buddha converted mostly from the latter group.[2] Nigrodha, Dīghamakha, Potaliputta, Anugāra (Annabhara), Varadhara, Sakuludāyi, Moliyasīvaka, Upaka, Maṇḍikaputta and Susīma were the noted paribbājakas who were converted by him. He could not convert many Brahmins. He converted Ajātasattu, the king of Magadha and Jivaka, the noted physician of the royal family as well as of the Buddha and his Saṅgha. The Sāmaññaphalasutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*[3] mentions that at the request of Jivaka he had a meeting with Ajātasattu, and he gave a sermon on the merits of asceticism.

Gayā and Uruvelā

At the time of the Buddha, Gayā became famous as an important centre of Buddhism. Here the thirty Bhaddavaggiya youths met the Buddha while they were enjoying their time in a forest near Gayā. The. Buddha gave them a discourse on dāna, śīla etc., and they embraced the life of the Buddhist monks. The Buddha also converted the Jaṭilas at Uruvelā.

[1]*MV*, I, 42, 1. [2]*EMB*, I, p. 144. [3]*DN*, I, pp. 48-86.

Nālandā

Nālandā was a suburb of Rājagaha. During the time of the Buddha it was not a very big place. Although it was a small place it was influential and prosperous. People were worshippers of the Buddha. The monastery Pāvārika Ambavana was the place where the monks used to stay. The Buddha also stayed here while on a visit to Nālandā. Here Sāriputta, his famous disciple, met him and they had a talk on the subject of the lineage of faith. Sāriputta told here: "There is nobody whether a monk or a Brahmin who is greater than the Exalted One as regards the higher wisdom and this is the faith which I cherish in my mind." The Buddha had a talk on the three wonders of the gods with Kevaddha, a young householder. He told Asibandhakaputta, a village headman that everyone must sow seeds according to the fertility of soil. Rāhula also visited Nālandā and stayed at the monastery Ambalaṭṭhikā.[1] From all these evidences it is clear that after the enlightenment of the Buddha Nālandā became one of the important Buddhist centres and the Buddha and his disciples visited here several times to preach his doctrine.

Kosala

The kingdom of Kosala was another country where the Buddha did his missionary work for the spread of Buddhism. Pasenadi, the king of Kosala, patronised Buddhism. Before his conversion to it he was a worshipper of the Brahmanic religion. But under the influence of Mallikā, his queen and Somā and Sakulā, his two sisters, king Pasenadi took keen interest in Buddhism, and became a lay devotee of the Buddha.[2] Here he delivered a discourse on the merits and demerits of good and evil deeds.

Sāvatthi

At the invitation of Anāthapiṇḍika, a great magnate and the high treasurer of the kingdom of Kosala, the Buddha came to Sāvatthi. The former gave him the pleasure-garden of prince Jeta for the residence of the Buddhist monks and it became known as the Jetavana vihāra or Jetavanārāma. Here he converted many people and spent nineteen vassavāsas (rain retreat) and gave discourses

[1] *MN*, I, p. 414. [2] *SN*, I, p. 70; *AN*, V, pp. 65ff.

consisting of eight hundred and forty-four suttas.[1] Visākhā, daughter of a seṭṭhi of Sāketa and wife of Puṇṇavaḍḍhana, the son of a rich seṭṭhi of Sāvatthi, was a pious lady who furthered the cause of the religion in Kosala. At her request her father-in-law Migāra and other members of the family became lay devotees of the Buddha. She also built a monastery called Pubbārāma Migārāmātupāsāda. Here the Buddha spent six vassas. Several rules of the Pātimokkha sutta were framed here at the request of Visākhā.[2] The Buddha converted Aṅgulimāla, a robber to Buddhism. He became a bhikkhu and also attained arhatship. Vekhanassa[3] and Poṭṭhāpada,[4] the paribbājakas of Kosala also accepted the religion of the Buddha. At first the Brahmanas in the kingdom of Kosala were not very friendly towards the Buddha. But he was able to convince them and converted many of them to Buddhism. Wealthy householders like Jāṇussoṇī,[5] Aggika-Bharadvāja,[6] Dhānañjāni[7] became his lay devotees. Even Brahmana teachers like Pokkharasādi of Ukkaṭṭhā,[8] Lohicca of Sālāvatikā[9] and Cañki of Opasāda embraced his religion. Many rich as well as poor Brahmanas became Buddhist monks and played their important roles for the spread of Buddhism in the kingdom of Kosala.

Kapilavatthu

At the invitation of king Suddhodana, the Buddha paid a visit to Kapilavatthu after his enlightenment. At first the king and the Śākyas were unwilling to welcome him and his disciples. They even did not give alms to his followers. They behaved with so rudely that they refused to give him accommodation at night and that is why he stayed at the hermitage of Bharaṇḍu-Kālāma. But they soon changed their minds when they saw his miraculous power[10] and they understood his greatness. He then won the hearts of the king as well as of the Śākyas. Within a very short time he converted Nanda, Rāhula, Mahāpajāpati, Yasodharā of the royal family. Many Śākyan youngmen and ladies also embraced his religion and they also helped to popularise Buddhism there. Kāla-Khemaka and Ghaṭāya, two Śākyamen, offered monasteries to the

[1] *DPPN*, pp. 965, 1127. [2] *MV*, V, pp. 144-145. [3] *MN*, II, p. 40.
[4] *DN*, I, p. 178. [5] *MN*, I, p. 175. [6] *SNP*, p. 21.
[7] *MN*, II, p. 209. [8] *DN*, I, p. 87. [9] ibid, I, p. 224.
[10] *MVT*, III, pp. 101ff.

monks in the Nigrodhārāma.[1] During the life time of the Buddha Kapilavatthu as an important centre of Buddhism occupied a place in the history of Buddhism.

Vesālī

Vesālī, the capital of the Licchavis, was another important city which was closely connected with the early history of Buddhism. Once the Licchavis faced a great famine and pestilence. When they were unable to remove them they sought the help of the Buddha and requested him to come to Vesālī to save them. As soon as the Buddha arrived in this city the famine and pestilence that had hung over them disappeared and he recited the Ratana sutta.[2] The people of Vesālī became happy. He won the hearts of the Licchavis and carried on his missionary work successfully. The Licchavis constructed the kūṭāgārasālā monastery for his residence, They also built the Saptāmra caitya, Bahuputra caitya. Gautama caitya, Kapinalya caitya, Markaṭahrada-tīra caitya, Sarāndada caitya and Udena caitya for the purpose of his meditation. The Buddha converted Mahāli, Mahānāma, Uggagahapati, Nandaka, Pingiyāni, Bhaddiya and also many distinguished Licchavis. He also praised them and spoke about their seven conditions of national welfare (satta aparihāniyadhammā).[3] He felt for them so much that he told his followers, "Whoever, my disciples, among you hath not seen the divine host of the thirty-three gods, let him gaze on the host of the Licchavis, let him behold the host of the Licchavis, let him view the host of the Licchavis."[4]

Kusinārā and Pāvā

At the time of the Buddha the Mallas were divided into two

[1]*MN*, III, pp. 109-110. [2]*EMB*, I, p. 177.

[3](i) "The Licchavis held frequent public meetings of their tribe which they all attended, (ii) They met together to make their decisions and carried out their undertakings in concord, (iii) They upheld tradition and honoured their pledges, (iv) They respected and supported their elders, (v) No women or girls were allowed to be taken by force or abduction, (vi) They maintained and paid due respect to their places of worship, (vii) They supported and fully protected the holy men (arhants) among them"——*DN*, II, pp. 73ff ; *AN*, IV, pp. 15ff.

[4]*BIIA*, pp. 42-43.

groups. Kusinārā, a small town, was the capital of one group of the Mallas and the other group ruled from Pāvā which was a centre of Jainism. Kusinārā and Pāvā were the places where the Buddha visited to preach his doctrine. The Mallas received him with great honour and the Assembly of the Mallas of Kusinārā issued order on his arrival in the city that a citizen would be fined 500 kahāpanas if he showed any disrespect to the Buddha.[1] At Kusinārā he delivered several discourses regarding the results of the spiritual practices of a Buddhist monk who by these virtues would be able to keep himself away from the pleasures of worldly life.[2] He converted Dabba Mallaputta, the distributor of food, Pukkasa, Khaṇḍasumana, Bhadraka, Rasiya, Siha and Cuṇḍa Kammāraputta of Pāvā.[3]

Kosambi

Kosambi, the country of the Vatsas, was another important city where the Buddha visited several times and established the Buddhist faith on a strong foundation. During the time of the Buddha Udena was the king of this country. At first he did not take any interest in Buddhism and showed his unfriendliness towards it. But afterwards he became an admirer of Buddhism under the influence of one of his queens Sāmādevī[4] and the Bhikkhu Piṇḍola Bharadvāja.[5] Sāmādevī was the daughter of Ghosaka, the lord treasurer of the kingdom. She was an upāsikā of the Buddha and played a role for the spread of Buddhism in Kosambi. Her attending maiden was Khujjutarā who was an Upāsikā also.

The Buddha passed his ninth vassa here. During the time of his tenth vassa a quarrel took place between the two sections of bhikkhus—Dhammadharas and the Vinayadharas.[6] He was so disgusted with their behaviour that he left the city and went to stay in a neighbouring forest known as Pārileyyaka.[7] The three seṭṭhis, viz., Ghosaka, Pāvāriya and Kukkuta who became lay devotees of the Buddha built three hermitages called Ghositārāma, Pāvārika-ambavana and Kukkutārāma. The Buddha and his disciples spent much time at Ghositārāma.

[1] *EMB*, p. 183. [2] *AN*, V, p. 263.
[3] *DN*, II, pp. 126-128. [4] *BL*, I, p. 84.
[5] *SN*, IV, pp. 110ff ; *AN*, I, p. 25; *PB*, pp. 110-111; *SN*, V, p. 224.
[6] *MV*, X; *DPA*, I, pp. 44ff. [7] *EMB*, 1, p. 188.

Avantī

During the life-time of the Buddha, Mahākaccāyana, the son of the royal priest of king Caṇḍa Pajjota and the nephew of ṛṣī (Isi) Asita, brought Buddhism from Benares to Avantī.[1] According to the advice of Asita, Mahākaccāyana and his friends went to Benares to meet the Buddha and became Buddhist monks.[2] After coming back to Avantī they not only introduced Buddhism but also made an effort to popularise Buddhism by building monasteries at Kururagharapapātapabbata and Makkarakaṭa. They converted Puṇṇa, Abhayakumāra, Sonakuṭikanna, Isidasi, Dhammapāla, Isidatta, Kandarāyana and Lohicca Brahmanas to Buddhism.[3] King Pajjota who was the ruler at that time became a follower of Buddhism at the request of Mahākaccāyana.[4] The Buddhist texts refer to him as a cruel king.

Apart from these places there were the Videha country, the Bhagga country, the Koliya country, the Kuru country and the Madra country where the Buddha did his missionary work for the introduction of Buddhism. In the Majjhima Nikāya there is a reference to Buddha's visit to the Bhagga country at the request of Bodhirājakumāra, son of Udena of Kosambi. Here the Buddha gave a discourse known as the Bodhirājakumāra Sutta to Bodhirājakumāra It deals with the necessary qualities of head and heart of a monk. He also delivered a discourse to the Bhagga people. The Koliyas, who were related to the Buddha on his mother's and wife's sides, helped him in many ways for the development of Buddhism in their country.

The First Buddhist Council

Just after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha, Subhadda, who became a monk in his old age, openly told other monks in Kusinārā: "Do not grieve, do not lament. We are happily rid of the Great Śramaṇa. We used to be annoyed by being told: 'This beseems you, this beseems you not.' But now we shall be able to do what we like, and what we do not like, we shall not have to do."[5] On hearing his speech Mahākassapa, the chief disciple of the Buddha, felt sorry and was anxious about the

[1] *EMB*, I, p. 193.
[2] *MVT*. II, p. 30; III, p. 382.
[3] *AN*, I, p. 68; *SN*, IV, pp. 117 and 288.
[4] *PB*, pp. 238-239.
[5] *MIB*, pp. 101-102.

discipline in the Saṅgha. That is why he gave a proposal that a council of five hundred arhats should meet to rehearse the teachings of the Buddha.[1] He proposed it in order to establish a canon of the Dhamma and of the discipline of the Saṅgha. Rājagaha was selected for the place of this council. Most of the arhats except Gavāmpati[2] and Purāṇa[3] co-operated with Mahākassapa in every way for the progress of this council. Ānanda, who was not an arhat upto this time, became an arhat just before the starting of the session of the council and was permitted to join the group of five hundred arhats selected for this council. Upāli, who had been mentioned by the Buddha as the foremost of the Vinayadharas, recited the Vinaya rules and the Dhamma (or the Sutta) was recited by Ānanda. Mahākassapa himself asked all questions relating to the Vinaya and the Dhamma both to Upāli and Ānanda. This council was held about seven months in the Sattapaṇṇa or Sattapaṇṇi cave of the Vebhāra (or Vaihāra) hill near Rājagaha. Ajātasattu, who was the king of Magadha at that time, helped the session of the council and made arrangements for seats and accommodation of the monks who attended the council.

Ajātasattu in his early days was hostile towards Buddhism but later on he patronised it and gave his full support to its development. Mahākassapa and Ānanda died in the reign of Ajātasattu. Before his death Ānanda converted five hundred hermits who were Brahmanas. Their leader was Madhyāntika,[4] who, at the request of Ānanda, went to Kashmir to introduce Buddhism there. After Ajātasattu several kings like Udāyibhadda, Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāgadāsaka[5] ascended the throne of Magadha and they ruled simultaneously for fifty years. But we do not hear anything about the progress of Buddhism in the reigns of these kings who were neither religious nor made any contribution to its propagation. It failed to gain any support from any quarter. It is probable that it had lost its popularity and was on the decline during this period. With the death of Nāgadāsaka, Śiśunāga, his minister, took the throne and Vesālī was his capital.[6] After him Kālāśoka, his son, became king. He was the king of Magadha for about twenty-eight years. It was during his reign the Second Buddhist Council was held at Vesālī.

[1]*EMB*, I, p. 335. [2]ibid, I, p. 335. [3]ibid, I, p. 335.
[4]ibid, II, p. 3. [5]ibid, II, pp. 1-4. [6]ibid, II, p. 22.

The Second Buddhist Council

According to tradition, one hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha, the second Buddhist Council was held at Vesālī in order to examine and to suppress the practices of ten un-Vinayic acts[1] of a group of the Vajjian or Vesālian monks. Yasa of Kosambi, who was at Vesālī at that time, saw their wrong practices and made a protest against them. They became angry and expelled Yasa from the Saṅgha. He then appealed to the laity of Vesālī and returned to Kosambi.[2] At his request some monks went to Pāṭheyya in Western country and Avantī to tell the monks there about the behaviour of the Vajjian monks. King Kālāśoka took the side of the Vajjian monks and he wanted to do something for them. But afterwards at the request of his sister Nandā, a Bhikkhuṇī, he changed his mind and supported the orthodox monks.[3] At the proposal of Revata, a council with seven hundred monks was held at Vesālī to discuss the ten rules of the Vajjian monks and to settle the disputes between the Vajjian monks and Yasa thera and his party. Probably it took place in the Vālikārāma in Vesālī in the eleventh year of the reign of king Kālāśoka. The eight members of the selected committee of the council discussed the problem and tried to settle the dispute. Revata asked the questions and Sabbakāmī answered them. After discussion they gave a decision against the Vajjian monks. They concluded that the ten rules followed by the Vajjian monks were unlawful and were not permissible.

[1](i) "The practice of carrying salt in a horn for use when needed.
(ii) The practice of taking food after mid-day.
(iii) The practice of going to a neighbouring village and taking a second meal there the same day, committing thereby the offence of over-eating.
(iv) The observance of uposathas in different places within the same sīmā.
(v) The practice of doing an ecclesiastical act and obtaining its sanction afterwards.
(vi) The practice of use of precedents as authority.
(vii) The practice of drinking milk-whey after meal.
(viii) The drinking of fermenting palm-juice which is not yet toddy.
(ix) The use of a borderless sheet to sit.
(x) The acceptance of gold and silver. *EMB*, II, pp. 35-36.

[2]ibid, II, p. 32. [3]ibid, II, p. 33.

The Ceylon chronicles refer to another council. They mention that all Vajjian monks did not agree with the decision of the council. Another council was held by them. They discussed the matter and gave a decision what they wanted in their favour. This council was known as the Mahāsaṅgha or Mahāsaṅghika.[1]

Just after the Second Buddhist Council some Vajjian monks did not want to remain in the Saṅgha of the Theravādins or Sthaviravādins and they formed a new Saṅgha known as the Mahāsaṅgha and they were known as the Mahāsaṅghikas[2] or the 'monks of the great congregation'. The Second Buddhist Council marked the first division in the Saṅgha. This was due to differences of opinion relating to the practice of ten rules of discipline by monk. Thus there arose in the Saṅgha at that time two sects—orthodox and unorthodox. After some time these two sects were divided into several sects. The total number of sects existed at that time was eighteen. The Theravādins or the orthodox monks who had firm faith in Hīnayānism upto their last existence were divided into eleven sects known as the Mahiśāsaka, Dharmaguptika, Sarvāstivāda, Kāśyapīya, Haimavata, Saṅkrāntika (Sautrāntika) and Suttavāda, Vātsīputrīya, Sammitīya, Dharmottarīya, Bhadrayāniya and Saṇṇagārika or Chaṇṇagarika.[3] The Mahāsaṅghikas or the unorthodox monks were also divided into seven sects[4] known as the Gokulika, Paññattivāda (Prajñaptivāda), Bahuśrutīya, Cetiyavāda (or Caityika), Ekvyavahārika, Purvaśaila and Aparaśaila. They were at first Hīnayānists. But after some time they discarded their doctrines and developed inclinations towards Mahāyānism. According to Bhavya and Vasumitra,[5] the Sarvāstivādins came into existence in the first quarter of the third century BC. After them Vātsīputrīyas, Dharmottariyas, Sammitiyas, Chaṇṇagārikas, Mahiśāsakas appeared in the history of Buddhism in India. The appearance of the Dharmaguptas, Kāśyapīyas and Sautrāntikas took place at the close of the third century BC. The second century BC saw the rise of the Ekavyavahārikas, Lokottaravādins, Gokulikas and Prajñaptivādins. The Caityakas and the Śaila sects appeared at the end of the second century BC.

[1]*EMB*, II, p. 33. [2]ibid, II, p. 44. [3]ibid, XI, p. 44; *BCLV*, I, p. 283.
[4]ibid, II, p. 44; ibid, p. 283. [5]ibid, I, p. 283.

The Theravādins or Sthaviravādins

Theravāda was not only the most primitive but was also the most conservative school of Buddhism and its doctrines were in Pali. This sect had a Tipiṭaka which consisted of Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma in Pali. According to the Tibetan traditions,[1] Mahākaccāyana who belonged to Ujjain (Ujjeni) founded the Theravāda sect. But the Pali tradition refers to Upāli.[2] The Theravādins had their first centre at Pāṭaliputta. Then they gradually settled in Kosambi, Avantī, Ujjeni and in other places of western India.[3] The Sārnāth inscription mentions that there were Theravādins in Sārnāth in the early periods.[4] The Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions also refer to the Theravādins.[5] From western India they began to settle in South India. They also became very popular in Kāñcī in South India.[6] After some time it became an important educational centre of the Theravādins. Mahinda in the third century BC introduced Theravādism in Ceylon where it firmly established itself. Mahāvihāra in Ceylon became its chief centre.[7] The Theravādins were known in Ceylon as the Theravādins-Vibhajjavādins.[8] But the Kathāvatthu applies the term Sakavāda instead of Sthaviravāda or Vibhajjavāda. They were later split up into three sects known as the Jetavaniyas, the Abhayagirivāsins and the Mahāvihāravāsins.

According to the Theravādins, the Buddha was a human being. He attained knowledge and realized the truth after hard labour.[9] He had many super-human qualities. The Theravādins admitted that an arhat was a perfect person. He reached the stage of Nibbāna and had no chance of fall from arhathood. The fundamental doctrine of this sect was to remain aloof from all sorts of evil, to do everything what was good and to purify the mind.[10] All these things could be possible only by observance of sīla, samādhi and paññā. The Theravādins held that all worldly things were subject to decay and they were anicca, dukkha and anattā. According to them, the majjhimapaṭipadā which was known also as the ariyaṭṭhaṅgikamagga was the real path and they

[1]*BSI*, p. 229. [2]ibid, p. 229. [3]ibid, p. 229.
[4]ibid, p. 229. [5]ibid, p. 229. [6]ibid, p. 229.
[7]ibid, p. 229. [8]*BCLV*, I, p. 286. [9]ibid.
[10]*DP*, *BV*, V, 5.

followed this path. They also held that the realisation of the four stages of the truth took place all at once,[1] and pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha, apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha and ākāśa were the three asaṃskṛtas.[2]

The Mahiśāsakas

Some Theravāda monks after leaving Pāṭaliputta went towards south and stayed in ancient Mahiṣamaṇḍala. They were known to the Buddhist world as the Mahiśāsakas.[3] They made their homes in Vanavāsī (North Kanara) and Mysore. They also went to Ceylon. Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim, states that he saw the Vinaya of the Mahiśāsakas in Ceylon.[4] The Mahiśāsakas were also popular in Avantī.[5] There were two groups of the Mahiśāsakas—the earlier group and the later group.[6] The Mahiśāsakas who belonged to the earlier group accepted most of the doctrines of the Theravādins while the Mahiśāsakas of the later group agreed with the Sarvāstivādins. In the eyes of the Mahiśāsakas an arhat had no chance of fall and he had not done any meritorious deed. They referred to the existence of nine unconstituted dhammas and stated that the realisation of the four stages of sanctification would be possible all at once and at the same time. The latter Mahiśāsakas agreed fully with the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādins.[7] According to them Khandhas, dhātus, āyatanas and anuśayas remained permanently.[8] They believed that past and future always existed. They admitted the existence of antarābhava.[9]

The Dharmaguptas or Dharmaguptikas

Some Theravāda monks went towards north and used Sanskrit as the medium of their Piṭaka. They were known as the Dharmaguptas or the Dharmaguptikas.[10] According to Prof. Przyluski[11] the followers of this school most probably took this name from the founder Dharmagupta who had been identified with Dharmarakkhita, the Yonaka missionary who went to north-western countries during the reign of Aśoka. According to some, it was a sub-sect of the

[1] *BSI*, p. 233; *BCLV*, I, p. 290. [2] ibid, p. 233; ibid, p. 290. [3] ibid, I, p. 286.
[4] *BSI*, p. 130. [5] ibid, p. 131. [6] ibid, p. 129.
[7] ibid, p. 134. [8] ibid, p. 134. [9] ibid, p. 134.
[10] *BCLV*, I, p. 286. [11] ibid, p. 286.

Mahiśāsaka. The Dharmaguptikas played an important role in the religious history of Central Asia and China. Their Prātimokṣa sūtra was very popular in China.[1] They had their own Tripiṭaka which had Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. Prof. Przyluski opines that their influence was found in north-western India.[2] They also extended their influence in Iran even. According to them, gifts offered to the Saṅgha were more meritorious than those to the Buddha.[3] Gifts offered to a stūpa were also meritorious. They believed that heretics would not be able to conquer the five supernatural powers. They also agreed that the body of an arhat was pure and the realisation of the truth could be possible all at a time.[4]

The Sarvāstivādins

The Sarvāstivādins were the branches of the Theravādins, the monks of the most orthodox school of Buddhism. Some Theravāda monks from Magadha went towards Northern India and settled in Mathurā, Gandhāra and Kāśmīra. They were known as the Sarvāstivādins because of their fundamental doctrine of 'sarvam asti' 'all things exist'.[5] The meaning of the term Sarvāstivāda, Pali Sabbatthivāda (Sarva, 'all' + asti, 'exist' + vāda, doctrine) is all exist.[6] The Sarvāstivādins were also known as the Mūlasarvāstivādins and the Āryasarvāstivādins. Kāśmīra was the chief centre of the activities of the Sarvāstivādins. They used Sanskrit as the language of their sacred scriptures. During the reign of Kaṇiṣka the Sarvāstivādins became very popular in Northern India.[7] He patronised them in his kingdom. It was because of him they were able to attain popularity in Northern India. Their influence also reached Central Asia. Dr. N. Dutt observes, "The Sarvāstivādins had its sphere of activity in Northern India extending from Kashmir to Mathurā and was responsible for the propagation of Hīnayāna Buddhism in Central Asia whence it was carried to China."[8] According to a tradition, the Mūlasarvāstivādins, the Dharmaguptas, the Mahīśāsakas and the Kāśyapīyas were the offshoots of the Sarvāstivādins.[9] According to another tradition, the Mūlasarvāsti-

[1] *BSI*, p. 184. [2] ibid, p. 184. [3] ibid, p. 184.
[4] ibid, p. 185; *BCLV*, I, p. 287. [5] *SL*, pp. 7-8. [6] ibid, p. 7.
[7] ibid, p. 5; *BCLV*, I, p. 287. [8] ibid, p. 5. [9] ibid, p. 4.

vādins, the Kāśyapīyas, the Mahāśāsakas, the Dharmaguptas, the Bahuśrutīyas, the Tāmraśāṭīyas and the Vibhajjavādins were the seven divisions of the Sarvāstivādins. From the Chinese and Tibetan translations, manuscripts discovered in Central Asia, Nepal and Gilgit in Pakistan and from several passages referred to in the Lalitavistara, Mahāvastu, Divyāvadāna, and Abhidharmakośa it is clear that the Sarvāstivādins had their own canon in Sanskrit or in Mixed Sanskrit.[1] It had three divisions—Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. The Sarvāstivādins agreed with the Theravādins in their doctrinal points. They held that the five dharmas i.e., citta (mind), caitasika (mental states), rūpa (matter), citta-viprayukta (states independent of the mind) and asaṃskṛtas (the unconstituted), which could be sub-divided into seventy-five, remained intact in their subtlest forms in the past, present and future.[2] They believed in the doctrine of Karma and Nirvāṇa. According to them, the Buddha was a human being. But he reached the stage of enlightenment and realised the truth. All arhats did not receive anutpada-jñāna,[3] and were ruled by pratītyasamutpā dāṅga and had chance of retrogression.[4] According to them, the four stages of sanctification should be realised gradually and the second and the third stages could be reached all at once.[5]

The Kāśyapīyas

The Kāśyapīyas were also known by the Sthavirīyas, Saddharma-varṣakas or Suvarṣakas.[6] Prof. Przyluski has identified them with the Haimavatas. Dr. N. Dutt did not accept this view.[7] The Kāśyapīyas had their own Tripiṭaka which consisted of Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. They believed that arhats had kṣayajñāna and anutpādajñāna,[8] Saṃskāras were subject to decay, and the past, the present and the future existed.

The Saṁkāntikas or the Sautrāntikas and the Suttavādins

The pali tradition records that the Saṃkāntikas were the branches of the Kāśyapīyas or the Kassapikas.[9] From the

[1] *BIIA*, p. 88. [2] *BSI*, p. 162. [3] ibid, p. 170.
[4] ibid, p. 170. [5] *BCLV*, I, p. 289. [6] *BSI*, p. 185.
[7] *EMB*, II, p. 170. [8] *BSI*, p. 186. [9] *EMB*, II, p. 166; *BSI*, p. 186.

Saṃkāntikas came the Sautrāntikas. But Vasumitra opines that the two sects were one and the same. The Suttavādins came into existence from the Saṃkrāntikas. Vasumitra mentions that the Saṃkāntikas believed the transmigration of substance from one birth to another.[1] According to them, the body of an arhat was pure. They denied the existence of past and future and there was no real existence of the unconstituted dharmas.[2]

The Haimavatas

Most probably the Haimavatas took their origin in the Himalayan region and that is why they were called the Haimavatas. Vasumitra, the great Buddhist teacher, believe that it was a branch of the Sthaviravāda. But Bhavya and Vinitadeva, the two great Buddhist philosophers, state that they came out from the Mahāsaṅghikas. The Haimavatas believed that the Bodhisattvas were like ordinary beings and had no extraordinary powers. The arhats had ignorance and doubts and it was possible for them to attain spiritual knowledge with the help of others.

The Vātsīputriyas or Yajjiputtakas or The Sammitīyas

The Vātsīputriyas or the Vajjiputtakas were also known as the Sammitīyas.[3] They were the branches of the Theravādins and their original home was Avantī. Because of it they were also called Avantakas or Avantīkas.[4] From the two inscriptions dated the 2nd and 4th centuries AD[5] it is clear that Mathurā and Sārnāth were the places where the Sammitīyas became very prominent. The fifth stone-slab inscription of Mathurā[6] refers to the establishment of an image of a Bodhisattva and its consecration to the Sammitīya monks. I-tsing mentions that the Sammitīyas became very prominent in Lāṭa and Sindhu in Western India and they were also in Magadha and in southern and eastern India.[7] In the reign of Harṣavardhana (606-647 AD) they came into prominence, Rājyaśrī, the sister of Harṣavardhana entered the Saṅgha of the nuns of the Sammitiyas.[8] According to the Vātsīputrīyas or the Sammitīyas, there was a

[1] *EMB*, p. 166; *BSI*, p. 187.
[2] *BIIA*, p. 97 fn. 47.
[3] *BCLV*, I, p. 287.
[4] ibid, p. 287; *BSI*, p. 195.
[5] *BSI*, p. 194.
[6] *EI*, VIII, p. 172.
[7] *BCLV*, I, p. 287.
[8] *BSI*, p. 194.

pudgala (a self, a personality) which passed through several existences before it arrived at the stage of Nirvāṇa. It moved and changed along with the khandhas (skandhas) and it also vanished when the khandhas vanished in Nirvāṇa.[1] The Vātsīputrīyas held the view that an arhat had a fall from religious life and the Ājīvikas were not in a position to achieve miraculous powers.

The Mahāsaṅghikas

The original home of the Mahāsaṅghikas was Magadha. One group of the Mahāsaṅghikas after leaving Magadha went to settle in northern and north-western India. This branch was split up into five sects—the Ekavyavahārika, the Kaukulika, the Bahuśrutīya, the Prajñaptivāda and the Lokottaravāda.[2] Another group of the Mahāsaṅghikas went to South India and made its home at the Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh.[3] Its branches were the Pūrvaśailas, the Aparaśailas, the Uttaraśailas, the Caityikas, etc.

Vesālī and Pātaliputta, the two important cities of the kingdom of Magadha, were the places where the influence of the Mahāsaṅghikas was very prominent. Fa-hien (414 AD) refers to the existence of the Vinaya of the Mahāsaṅghikas at Pātaliputta.[4] I-tsing,[5] the Chinese traveller, states that the Mahāsaṅghikas were in Magadha, in Lāṭa and Sindhu and in some places in northern, southern and eastern India. The stūpa at Andarab (Afghanistan)[6] and the cave at Karle (Bombay)[7] were given to the monks of this sect. According to Hiuen Tsang, this sect had three monasteries at Andaraba.[8] The Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions mention that the Mahāsañghikas had a canon of their own and it was composed in Prakrit.[9]

According to the Mahāsaṅghikas,[10] the Buddhas were Lokottara (supra-mundane) and were composed of pure dharmas. Their body, span of life and powers were unlimited. They had kṣaya Jñāna (knowledge of decay) as well as anutpādajñāna (knowledge of non-origination) up to the time of the attainment of their Mahāparinibbāna. Their birth took place not like ordinary beings. They entered

[1] *BCLV*, I, p. 292. [2] *BSI*, p. 68. [3] ibid, p. 68.
[4] *ARBIIMA*, p. XX. [5] ibid, pp. XXXII-XXXIII.
[6] *EI*, XI, p. 211. [7] ibid, VII, pp. 64ff. [8] *BSI*, p. 65.
[9] *BHB*, II, p. 100; *BIIA*, p. 98. [10] *BCLV*, I, p. 289.

the wombs of their mothers in the shape of white elephants and came out from the womb at the time of birth from the right side of their mothers. The Mahāsaṅghikas believed that arhats had no chance of fall from arhathood. But some Mahāsaṅghikas who considered Mahādeva as their leader stated that arhats could receive knowledge with the help of others, they had doubts and were ignorant on certain affairs.[1]

The Caityikas or Caityakas

Mahādeva, the Buddhist teacher, was the founder of the Caityavāda sect. It came into existence about two hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha. Mahādeva used to live in a caitya on the top of a hill and for this reason this sect had received the name of Caityavāda. Some believed that the Caityikas used to worship the caityas and that is why they were called the Caityikas. They were also known as the Lokottaravādins.[2] According to them, the construction of caityas, worship of caityas and a circumambulation of caityas were meritorious deeds and one could acquire merits by doing all these pious works.[3] They held that the Buddhas had no attachment, delusion and ill-will.

The Bahuśrutīyas

The Bahuśrutīyas agreed with the Sarvāstivādins in many doctrinal points. The Bahuśrutīya sect had received its name because its founder was a learned Buddhist teacher. According to the Bahuśrutīyas, the Buddha's doctrines which related to anityatā (transitoriness), dukkha (suffering), śūnya (non-existence of objects), anātman (absence of soul) and nirvāṇa (the final bliss) were lokkottara (supramundane).[4] They held that the Buddha had ten balas (powers), four vaiśāradyas (confidences) and other powers.[5]

The Ekavyavahārikas had their main centre at Pātaliputta. According to them, all dharmas were not real and the absolute was rare and accidental. "The Prajñaptivāda came into existence after the Bahuśrutīya. The Pūrvaśaila, the Aparaśaila and the Uttaraśaila or the Śaila sects most probably took their names from

[1] *BCLV*, I, p. 290. [2] *BSI*, p. 60; *EMB*, II. p. 57. [3] *BIIA*, pp. 100-101.
[4] ibid, p. 101. [5] ibid, p. 102 fn. 62. [6] *BSI*, p. 74.

hill and made their homes in Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh.[1]

The reign of Kālāśoka was significant in the religious history of India. It was because of the Second Buddhist Council his reign was memorable in the history of Buddhism. The next important king who ascended the throne after Kālāśoka was Nanda or Mahāpadma or Mahāpadmapati.[2] He patronised Buddhism. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa mentions that his spiritual teacher was Kalyāṇamitra. At his request the king made several gifts to the caityas which were constructed on the relics of the Buddha. After him Candragupta came to the throne of Magadha and he ruled for twenty-four years. Then he was succeeded by his son Bindusāra. Though he did not show any interest towards Buddhism yet the progress and development of Buddhism continued. At that time several sects shifted their centres to different places in India. Avantī was the centre of activities of the Theravādins.[3] The Sarvāstivādins moved to Mathurā and afterwards to Gandhāra. The Mahīśāsakas went towards south and selected Mysore as their place.[4] The Mahāsaṅghikas established themselves in the Andhra country.[5]

After Bindusāra his son Aśoka took the throne of the Maurya empire in the third century BC. He was one of the greatest figures in Indian history. H.G.Wells in his *Outline of History* refers to him "as 'the greatest of kings' and that not because of the physical extent of his empire, extensive as it was, but because of his character as a man, the ideals for which he stood, and the principles by which he governed."[6] He was a great patron of Buddhism and his reign proved to be the most inspiring period for Buddhism in the country. Buddhism, upto the middle of the third century BC, flourished in the Middle country of the Buddhists, Andhra country and Ujjeni and Mathurā.[7] But Buddhism, under king Aśoka, flourished beyond its limit. After his Kaliṅga war he came under the influence of Buddhism and became a Buddhist. The Kaliṅga war which took place in the ninth year after his coronation brought a complete change in his mind. 'The sight of the misery and bloodshed in that sanguinary campaign made a deep impression on him and awakened in his breast feelings of anuśochana, "remorse, profound

[1] *EMB*, II, p. 49.
[2] *PHAI*, p. 231; *EMB*, II, p. 25.
[3] ibid, II, p. 242.
[4] ibid. II, p. 242.
[5] ibid, II, p. 242.
[6] *AIU*, p. 71.
[7] *EHSB*, pp. 82ff; *MIB*, pp. 116ff.

sorrow and regret."[1] It marked a turning point in his career. After his conversion to Buddhism he showed his great devotion to it and played a great role to propagate the teachings of the Buddha not only within the borders of his kingdom but also outside. He was the only Indian king who made Buddhism an international religion. From his several inscriptions we learn that he extended the influence of Buddhism in North Bengal in the east, Nepal and Kashmir in the north, Gandhāra and Kamboja in the north-west, Saurāshtra in the west and Tāmraparṇi or Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon) in the south. He also sent religious missions to Egypt and Syria in the west and Burma in the south-east.[2]

King Aśoka established his contact with Upagupta, the famous Buddhist monk of Mathurā.[3] The former told him that he was ready to give up his life, son, wife, palace, wealth and kingdom for the sake of the religion of the Buddha.[4] He visited the holy places and built many stūpas there. He took out the relics distributed after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha and then re-distributed them with an idea that relic-thūpas (or relic-stūpas) could be erected in different places of India.[5]

During king Aśoka's time the quinquennial assemblies of Buddhist monks were held.[6] In these assemblies he used to give presents to monks of all quarters which included Tamasāvana (in Kashmir), Revataka (in Mahāvana), Śairīsaka (in Anavataptahrada) and Gandhamādana mountains. At the instance of the oldest Buddhist monk, Piṇḍola Bharadvāja, he introduced the ceremony of bathing the Bodhi-tree.[7] It is said that towards the end of his reign he stayed for some time in a monastery.

The Third Buddhist Council

The Third Buddhist Council was held in the reign of king Aśoka. Many non-Buddhists who had no orthodox views in matters of both doctrine and discipline became Buddhist monks and entered the Saṅgha. But the Theravādins or the orthodox monks separated themselves from them and did not agree to perform the uposatha ceremony with them. Owing to this disagreement no uposatha

[1] *PHAI*, p. 324. [2] *A*, pp. 159ff. [3] *EMB*, II, p. 245.
[4] *DV*, pp. 388ff. [5] *TKL*, p. 110. [6] *DV*, p. 398.
[7] *EMB*, II, p. 246.

ceremony was performed at Pātaliputta, for about seven years. Aśoka sent one minister at Aśokārāma to request the orthodox monks there to do the uposatha ceremony with other monks. But they refused to do it and many monks were beheaded by the king's minister. But the king felt sorry for it and asked Moggaliputta Tissa, the oldest and the most learned of the monks, regarding this matter. With his help the king expelled many unorthodox monks from the Saṅgha and suppressed their heretical views. He did his best to bring discipline in the Saṅgha and tried to purify it as far as possible. This Council was held by the orthodox monks only at Pātaliputta under the leadership of Moggaliputta Tissa. Aśoka patronised it and supported the orthodox monks. It was held for nine months. After its conclusion Moggaliputta Tissa under Aśoka's patronage sent religious missions to nine different countries for the introduction, development and spread of Buddhism.[1] Here is given below the names of the monks and the countries of Moggaliputta Tissa's mission :

Majjhantika (Madhyāndina)	to Kāśmīra and Gandhāra[2]
Mahādeva	to Mahiṣamaṇḍala[3]
Rakkhita	to Vanavāsī[4]
Dhammarakkhita (a Yonaka)	to Aparānta[5]
Mahādhammarakkhita	to Mahāraṭṭha[6]
Mahārakkhita	to Yona countries[7]
Majjhima	to Himavanta[8]

[1]*MHV*, XII, 3-8.

[2]Gandhāra comprises the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab. Kāśmīra is the modern Kashmir.: ibid, XII, p. 82 fn. 2.

[3]A district south of the Vindhyan mountains: ibid, XII, p. 84 fn. 5.

[4]North Kanara: ibid, XII, p. 84 fn. 7.

[5]Aparānta comprises the territories of northern Gujarat, Kathiawar, Kacch and Sind: ibid, XII, p. 85 fn. 1.

[6]Mahārāṣṭra, the country of the Mārāṭhī: ibid, XII, p. 85 fn. 3.

[7]The clans of foreign race on the north-western frontier: ibid, XII, p. 85 fn. 5.

[8]The Himālayan region: ibid, XII, p. 85.

Soṇa and Uttara	to Suvaṇṇabhūmi[1]
Mahinda	to Tambapaṇṇi[2]

The Ceylon chronicles[3] refer to these Buddhist missions to nine different countries under the patronage of king Aśoka. The king himself in his Rock Edicts V and XIII[4] mentioned the names of several countries where he sent his religious missions though he omitted some names referred to in the Ceylon chronicles. The omission of these names does not prove or disprove the authenticity of the facts of the Ceylon chronicles. The discovery of several inscriptions at Sāñchī confirms the historicity of the religious missions of the Ceylon chronicles. The inscription on the inner lid of the relic-urn which was unearthed in Tope no. 2 of the Sāñchī group refers to Sapurisa(sa) Majjhimasa '(relics) of the pious man Majjhima.'[5] The inscription on the outer lid of the relic-urn mentions about Sapurisa(sa) Kāsapagotasa Hemāvatācariyasa '(relics) of the pious man Kassapagotta (i.e., of the Kassapa clan), the teacher of the Himalaya.'[6] From these two inscriptions it is clear that Majjhima and Kassapagotta were the two prominent figures who definitely played an important role in the history of Buddhism of this region. There is a reference to in the Mahāvaṃsa about Majjhima who was sent by Moggaliputta Tissa to the Himalayan countries to propagate the teachings of the Buddha.[7] The Dīpavaṃsa[8] states that Kassapagotta went to the Himalayan region with Majjhima. So these two inscriptions mentioned above clearly prove the story of Majjhima and Kassapagotta who went to the Himalayan countries to preach the doctrines of the Buddha and the historicity of the Buddhist mission as related in the Ceylon chronicles.

[1]According to some, Suvaṇṇabhūmi 'the gold-land' is lower Burma with adjacent districts. Fleet is of opinion that Suvaṇṇabhūmi might be the country in Bengal called by Hiuen-tsang 'Ka-lo-na-su-fa-la-na'—Karṇasuvarṇa or else the country along the river Son, a river in Central India, and tributary of the Ganges on its right bank, which is also called Hiraṇyavāha 'the gold-bearer': *MHV*, XII, p. 86 fn. 2; *AIU*, p. 84; *JRAS*, 1910, p. 428.

[2]The island of Laṅkā or Ceylon : ibid, XII, p. 82.

[3]ibid, XII, 3-8; *DPV*, VIII, 1-3.

[4]*AI*, pp. 21-29, 63-76.

[5]*TBT*, p. 287; *BI*, pp. 299-301.

[6]ibid, p. 287; *BI*, pp. 299-301.

[7]*MHV*, XII, 6, 41.

[8]*DPV*, VIII, 10.

The session of the Third Buddhist Council and the sending of the religious missions to nine different countries by Moggaliputta Tissa after this council were the most important events in the history of Buddhism. This was for the first time in the history that the Buddhist monks went to foreign countries to propagate the teachings of the Buddha. India and the countries, belonging to the region now known as South and south-east Asia, were familiar with each other from the time of the Buddha. Several Jātakas refer to sea voyages of merchants from India to this region. So from very ancient times trade relations were established between these two regions and it is very probable that through traders Buddhism was also introduced there. The Third Buddhist Council was an important landmark in the history of Buddhism. It produced important results in Ceylon, Burma and other places of south-east Asia. The Theravāda form of Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon and south-east Asia by Buddhist monks sent by king Aśoka in the second half of the third century BC. In course of time after its introduction Ceylon became the headquarter of Theravāda Buddhism and from there it flourished in south-east Asia. After its disappearance from India, Ceylon, as an important centre, took the leading part for the spread of this form of Buddhism.

Buddhism continued to flourish in northern India after the reign of Aśoka. But it is said in the Buddhist texts that it had suffered a set-back in north-east India during the reign of Pushyamitra (or Puṣyamitra), the founder of the Suṅga dynasty, who after assassinating Brihadratha,[1] the last king of the Maurya empire, ascended the throne and ruled for thirty-six years (*c.* 187-151 BC). According to the Buddhist tradition,[2] Puṣyamitra destroyed monasteries and killed many monks on his journey to Sialkot in the Punjab. Here he announced a prize of one hundred gold coins on the head of each Buddhist monk.

Buddhism flourished in north-western India in the region of Indo-Greek rulers. Of all the Greek rulers of India, Menander alone occupied an important place in the Buddhist world for his love towards Buddhism and his scholastic approach.[3] He has been identified with king Milinda of the *Milindapañha*, 'Question of Milinda,' a Buddhist book composed in the

[1] *AIU*, p. 90.

[2] *DV*, pp. 429-430; *IHQ*, XXII, pp. 81ff; *AIU*, p. 97; *MIB*, p. 118.

[3] *AIU*, pp. 112-113.

form of questions and answers between king Milinda and Nāgasena, the famous Buddhist monk. It is said that king Menander after his meeting with Nāgasena took Buddhism as his religion and helped to spread Buddhism in his kingdom. He joined the Saṅgha as a monk and became an arhat.

The Fourth Buddhist Council

The progress of Buddhism continued in north-west India during the rule of the Kushāṇas who were followers of Buddhism and did a splendid job for its progress. Kaṇiṣka, who is regarded as the greatest of the Kushāna emperors, occupied the throne in 78 AD.[1] His empire extended from Bihar in the east to Khorāsān in the west and from Khotan in the north to the Konkan in the south.[2] He was one Kushana emperor whose fame went beyond the borders of his kingdom, not only as an able statesman, but also as one who by his piety and enthusiasm carved out a place for himself in the history of Buddhism. A great Buddhist council was held under his patronage.[3] The king in order to bring unity in the Saṅgha convoked a council which was known as the Fourth Buddhist Council. Some traditions mention that this council took place in the vihāra at Kuṇḍalavana in Kāśmīra.[4] But other traditions refer to it in the vihāra of Kuvana near Gandhāra or Jalandhara.[5] In this council sacred books were commented according to the opinion of all sects. The Sarvāstivāda sect and its many sub-sects took active part in this council and they organised it. Vasumitra was the President and Aśvaghoṣa was the Vice-President of the council.[6] The chief aim of this council was to collect manuscripts and to compose new commentaries on the Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma texts. The most significant fact of this council was that the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism appeared in Northern India at that time. The term Mahāyāna or 'the Great Vehicle' must have originated from the term Mahāsaṅghika or 'member of the Great Council'.[7] According to some scholars, Mahāyāna Buddhism was founded by Nāgārjuna.[8] But the latter in his works the Prajñāpāramitā śāstra and the Daśabhūmi-vibhāṣā-

[1]*AIU*, p. 144. [2]ibid, p. 141. [3]ibid, p. 147; *MIB*, p. 121.
[4]ibid, p. 147; ibid, p. 121. [5]ibid, p. 147; ibid, p. 121.
[6]ibid, p. 147. [7]*TKL*, p. 123. [8]*AHSHM*, p. 90.

śāstra[1] referred to many Mahāyāna sūtras which were most probably existing before the arrival of Nāgārjuna.[2] So it is possible that Nāgārjuna was not the founder but he made a significant contribution to the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Most of the scholars agree that the Mahāsaṅghikas were the real founder of Mahāyānism and they first invented the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna[3] and "they coined the term 'Mahāyāna' to be applied to themselves."[4] The basic principles of both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna are identical. Both of them accepted the Four Noble Truths, the Noble Eightfold Path, the theory of Kamma, the non-existence of the soul and the gradual stages of spiritual advancement.[5] But they differed on certain points regarding their attitude to the words of the Buddha and their conception of the Buddha.[6] The Mahāyānists held that the Buddha was lokuttara and was made of anāśrava dharmas. His body, length of life and powers were unlimited. Under the patronage of the Kushāna emperors Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished. But with the fall of their dynasty in the third century AD Buddhism lost a line of great admirers.

The fourth century AD witnessed the rise of the Imperial Guptas who played a prominent role in the political history of Northern India. The age of the Gupta rulers was also highly remarkable in the religious and cultural history of India. These rulers became famous for their religious toleration. During their rule several religions existed side by side and Buddhism, as one of the religions of the age, also continued. In the reign of Candragupta II, Āmrakārdava, son of Undāna of Sukulideśa, gave a plot of land and twenty five dīnāras for feeding five Buddhist monks and providing a lamp in the Jewel House.[7] The Mankuwar stone image inscription of Kumāra Gupta I of the year 129 (448-449 AD) refers to Buddhamitra who was a Buddhist monk.[8] He installed the image of the Buddha. Another inscription[9] also mentions that in the reign of the above mentioned ruler a Buddhist monk named Abhayamitra made an image of the Buddha for worship. From the

[1]'The former is a 'commentary on the Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra and the latter is a commentary on the first two of the ten Bhūmis in Daśabhūmika chapter of Avataṃsaka sūtra'. *AHSHM*, p. 10 fn. 1.

[2]ibid, p. 10. [3]ibid, p. 11. [4]ibid, p. 142.

[5]*TKL*, p. 123. [6]ibid, p. 123.

[7]*IHQ*, XIII, p. 326; *CII*, III, p. 5. [8]ibid, p. 327; ibid, p. 2.

[9]ibid, p. 327.

inscriptional evidences it is clear that Buddhism was prevalent during the rule of the Gupta rulers. Though the Gupta rulers were tolerant of Buddhism and some of them even patronised Buddhism during their rule but it did not help the spread of Buddhism which at that time slowly but silently began to decline in India.

Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim, visited India in the first half of the fifth century AD. He referred to the four philosophical schools—the Vaibhāṣikas, the Sautrāntikas, the Yogācāras and the Mādhyamikas.[1] The first two schools were followers of Hīnayāna Buddhism and the other two showed their leanings towards Mahāyāna Buddhism. Here is given a brief survey of the philosophical ideas of these four schools:

The Vaibhāṣikas were originated from the Vibhāṣās or commentaries.[2] They believed in the existence of the world. They held that the organs of sense perceived directly and not by their perceived faculty (vijñāna).[3] They refused to accept the existence of ātmā (soul) and pudgala (personality). They denied the authority of the Sūtra altogether but held the Abhidharma's authority. According to them, the Buddha was a human being who entered into nothingness after reaching the stage of Nirvāṇa by his Buddhahood and another Nirvāṇa by his death.[4]

Vasumitra refers to the existence of the Sautrāntikas or Saṃkrāntivādins in the fourth century AD.[5] The founder of this sect was Ācārya-Kumāralāta. The Sautrāntikas rejected the authority of the Abhidharmapiṭaka but accepted that of the Sūtras. They did not accept the existence of past and future but believed in the existence of the present only. According to them, mental and external objects remained permanently. All dharmas were impermanent and Nirvāṇa was not a real object. They held that the body of an arhat was pure and there were many Buddhas simultaneously.

[1] *ARBRIMA*, p. 15; *MIB*, p. 126.

[2] Hiuen Tsang refers in Kanishka's council in Kāśmīra. He states that all the Northern Buddhists attended this council. But uo Southern Buddhist was invited and no body was present in this council. Five hundred Northern Buddhists who took part in the session of the council prepared a commentary entitled Vibhāṣā. They made it in copper plates and placed these inscriptions under a huge stūpa which was kept near the place of the council. It is generally believed that the Vaibhāṣika sect took its cue from the vibhāṣā—*IHQ*, I, 209.

[3] *MIB*, p. 126; *BSI*, p. 100. [4] ibid, p. 126. [5] *AM*, II, p. 17.

The followers of the Mādhyamika school were known as the Mādhyamikas because they followed the middle view and laid much stress on it. "They abvocate neither the theory of absolute reality nor that of total unreality of the world but merely realitivity."[1] They were known as the Śūnyavādins because they held that śūnyatā was the absolute. According to them, samvṛti (conventional truth) and paramārtha (transcendental truth) were two kinds of truth. Nāgārjuna or Ārya Nāgārjuna, a brahmin of South India, was the founder of this school which came into existence towards the end of the second century AD.

Maitreya or Maitreyanātha was the founder of the Yogācāra sect. It was known as the Yogācāra because it gave more emphasis on the practice of yoga (meditation). Its followers were called the Yogācāras or the Yogācārins. They believed that one reached the highest stage of bodhi (truth) after passing. through all the ten stages of spiritual progress (daśa bhūmi) of Bodhisattvahood.[2] According to them, all external objects were unreal and accepted the real existence of vijñāna consciousness. They believed that pudgalanairātma (non-existence of self) and dharmanairātma (non-existence of the things of the world) were two kinds of nairātma.[3] The realisation of these two nairātmas could be possible only by the removal of passions and of the veil covering true knowledge.[4]

During the time of Fa-hien's visit both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism existed side by side in many parts of India. The Chinese pilgrim visited several places of India. He saw scholars, monasteries and other establishments of these two forms of Buddhism at Mathurā, Pātaliputra, Udyāna, Punjab, Srāvastī and Sārnāth.[5] Buddhism flourished in Kabul, Kashmir and north-western parts of India at that time.[6] Karli, Nasik, Amarāvatī, Jagayyapeta, Goli, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in Western and Southern India were the important centres of Buddhism in the fifth century AD.[7] The Ikṣavākus, who belonged to Eastern Deccan, made an important contributions to the development of Buddhism in India. Buddhaghoṣa and his teacher who played a great role for the development of Buddhism in the fourth and fifth centuries AD had some connections with the Pallava-Coḷa country of South India. The latter was an important

[1] *BIIA*, p. 105. [2] ibid, p. 107. [3] ibid, p. 108.
[4] ibid, p. 108. [5] *NIA*, II, p. 697. [6] ibid, p. 697.
[7] ibid, p. 697.

centre of Buddhism in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries AD and was closely connected with the Buddhist centres in Burma, Several Pali inscriptions, which belonged to the fifth and sixth centuries AD, were found at Hmawza in Lower Burma.[1] All these inscriptions were written in characters similar to the Andhra-Kadamba or Kānnādā script of South India of about the fifth and sixth centuries AD. It shows that in the fifth and sixth centuries AD. Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Kāñcīpuram, Kāveripattanaṃ, Negapataṃ and Uragapuraṃ of the Deccan and South India were important centres of Theravāda Buddhism and they helped the development of Buddhism in Lower Burma.

The Huns, who were Mahomedans by faith, invaded north-west India from the north at the end of the fifth century AD and the beginning of the sixth century AD. They were anti-Buddhists and they killed Buddhist monks, scholars and destroyed many monasteries.[2] Their invasion gave a death-blow to Buddhism and it brought its downfall in north-west India.

The beginning of the seventh century AD marked the arrival of Harṣa or Harṣavardhana. His reign was an important period in the political, social and religious history of Northern India.[3] He unified the whole Northern India into one empire. He patronised Buddhism and popularised Buddhistic learning at the Buddhist University of Nālandā. Under his patronage many religions flourished in his dominion. Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited India from 630 AD to 644 AD refers to the flourishing condition of Buddhism from Taxila and further west to Puṇḍravardhana and Samaṭaṭa in the east, and from Kashmir and Nepal to the Coḷa country in the South.[4] But I-tsing, another Chinese pilgrim, who came to India after Hiuen-Tsang, mentions that Buddhism was in a state of decay.[5]

The reign of the kings of the Pāla dynasty was a great epoch in the history of Buddhism in India. The Pāla kings ruled in Eastern India from about the second half of the eighth century AD and gave a new life to Buddhism. The founder of the dynasty was Gopāla[6] who was a Buddhist. The next king was Dharmapāla (c. AD 770-810) who was a zealous patron of Buddhism and played a

[1] *EI*, V, pp. 101ff; XII, pp. 127-132; *IA*, XX, pp. 121ff; *AISTBB*, p. 38.
[2] *TKL*, pp. 120-121. [3] ibid, p. 121.
[4] *MIB*, p. 130; *NIA*, II, p. 698. [5] *TKL*, p. 122. [6] *AIU*, p. 44.

great role for the re-establishment of Buddhism. He established the Vikramaśila monastery[1] at Pātharghātā near Bhagalpur. It became an important centre of Buddhist learning and culture. The great Buddhist vihāra at Somapuri in the Rajshāhi district in Bangla Desh was also constructed by him.[2] Devapāla, the worthy son of Dharmapala, ascended the throne of the Pāla dynasty after his father." The reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla constitute the most brilliant chapter in the history of Bengal. Never before or since, till the advent of the British, did Bengal play such an important role in Indian politics."[3] Devapāla reigned for about forty years (c. AD 810-850). Under him the Pāla empire reached the height of its glory. His empire extended from the Himālayas to the Vindhya mountains and from the eastern to western seas.[4] He, too, like his father, occupied an important place in the history of Buddhism for his important contribution to the spread of Buddhism in India as well as in the Buddhist countries of south-east Asia. About this time the Śailendra dynasty of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya in Sumatra was ruling over an extensive empire in south-east Asia.[5] Bālaputradeva, a king of this dynasty, was a devout follower of the Buddha. He despatched a mission to Devapāla, asking for a grant of five villages for the upkeep of the monastery built by him at Nālandā. Devapāla granted his request. The Śailendra rulers were followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Under the patronage of the Pālas Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished in Bengal and Magadha in Bihar. It was a Mahāyāna tinged with Tantrayāna. At that time Hīnayāna Buddhism disappeared from the land of its birth and made its home in Ceylon. Tāntric Buddhism, which was originated from the Mahāyāna school of Yogācāra, and which played a great role in the history of Buddhism in India during this period, flourished in Bengal from about the middle of the seventh century AD and Nālandā became the important centre of this form

[1] *AIU*, p. 49; *JASB, NS*, V, pp. 1ff. [2] ibid, p. 49. [3] ibid, p. 52.
[4] ibid, p. 50. [5] ibid, p. 52.

of Buddhism. Several schools viz. Vajrayāna[1] Kālacakrayāna,[2] Mantrayāna[3] and Sahajayāna[4] came into existence. The Śailendra dynasty established its close contact with Bengal and Magadha and most probably this dynasty received its Mahāyāna Buddhism from these regions. Thus under the patronage of the Pāla rulers there was a revival of missionary zeal and the Buddhist monks of Bengal and Magadha visited many Buddhist centres of south-east Asia and helped to spread Mahāyāna Buddhism there.

After the Pālas, the kings of the Sena dynasty reigned in Eastern India. They were followers of Brahmanism but they were not inimical to Buddhism. Even then Buddhism declined at that time. After some time the Muhammedans invaded the country and brought the downfall of Buddhism in north-east India. Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Muhammad who was known as Muhammad Bakhtiyar, destroyed Odantapuri and Vikramaśila monasteries and killed many

[1]'The word Vajrayāna literally means the Adamantine path, but in its technical sense it means the path of perfect void though which the immutable void nature of the self, as well as, of the Dharma can be realised'. (*BO*, pp. 131-132). In this system Vajra was the principal means for attainment of salvation. The followers of the Vajrayāna often chant 'all the Dharmas are of the void nature. I am also of the void nature'. Those who had achieved the state of Vajra were called the Vajrasattvas or the Vajradharas. A guru of this sect was known as Vajradhārī.—*BIIA*, p. 115; *BO*, pp. 131-132.

[2]Waddel, one of the great authorities on Tantric Buddhism, writes, 'Kālacakrayāna is a hideous Tāntric system, professing monstrous and polydemonist doctrine, in which the demonical Buddhas are represented with their dreadful consorts, the Dākinī fiendesses, for propitiation of whom wild orgiastic rites are recommended.' (*BO*, p. 135). According to some scholars, the word kāla means time, death and destruction and kālacakra is the wheel of destruction and kālacakrayāna means the vehicle for protection against the wheel of destruction (*MBO*, p. 8). The main object of the followers of the Kālacakrayāna was to obstruct the everchanging kālacakra and to keep themselves above the kālacakra. Practically, it is not a distinct school of Tāntric Buddhism, but a particular name of the Vajrayāna school.—*BOA*, p. 136; *TB*, pp. 75-76.

[3]The Tattva-ratnāvalī, collected in the Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha, refers to the division of Mahāyāna into two schools viz., the Pāramitānaya and Mantranaya and the latter school, after sometime, became known as the Mantrayāna. The Mantrayānists gave more emphasis on the mantras than on any other thing.—*BO*, p. 130; *BIIA*, p. 115.

[4]The Sahajayāna is a branch of the Vajrayāna. N.K. Sahu writes, 'the word Sahaja literally means that which accompanies with the birth and manifests

Buddhist monks.[1] Many monks fled to neighbouring places. The learned Buddhist monk Śākyaśrī first took his shelter in Orissa and from there he went to Tibets.[2] Ratnaraksita Bhikkhu went to Nepal.[3] Buddhamitra along with other monks fled to South India.[4] So after the Muhammedan invasion Buddhism practically disappeared from north-east India. Many Buddhist monks, who went to south from Magadha, established their centres in Vijayanagara, Kaliṅga and Konkan[5] and made Buddhism popular there. Buddhism also flourished in Kashmir. Most of the rulers patronised it and gave their full support to its development. But when Shāh Mir became the ruler after the second half of the fourteenth century AD Islam was the religion of the people. Buddhism lost its popularity and except Ladak it totally disappeared from there.[6]

According to Tāranātha,[7] a prince from Bengal repaired the monasteries and the terrace of the Bodhi-tree at Gayā in the middle of the fifteenth century AD. It shows that Buddhism had some followers in Bengal at that time. Buddhism flourished in Orissa in the second of the sixteenth century AD in the reign of Mukunda—Deva Hariścandra. But when the Muslim governor of Bengal conquered Orissa it lost its influence there.[8] After its disappearance from the land of its birth it took shelter in Nepal[9] where the Hindu rulers gave a warm welcome and under their patronage it began to flourish in this new land.

itself as the primitive and natural propensities in man. The path that helps man to realise the truth through satisfying these inborn and fundamental propensities is therefore, the most natural and easiest of all paths and hence it is called the Sahaja path or Sahajayāna' (*BO*, p. 137). Dr. S.B. Dasgupta also observes that '——the nature of Sahaja cannot be defined,——it can only somehow be described. It will be evident that this Sahaja is the Brahman of the Upanishads and the Vedanta. It is the Nirvāṇadhātu of canonical Buddhism, it is tathatā (thatness) of Asvaghoṣa——It is again the Vajradhātu or Vajrasattva of the Vajrayānista. It is the Bodhicitta in the form of the unity of Śūnyatā and Karuṇā, it is the mahāsukha or supreme bliss. All these ideas have emerged in the idea of Sahaja of the Sahajias.' (*ORC*, pp. 94-95). The Sahajias gave more emphasis on the objects of satisfying all needs of the physical body which is the place of all the tattvas, pithas and deities, and it is not possible for any body to attain siddhi without it.——*BO*, p. 139.

[1]*MIB*, p. 133. [2]ibid, p. 133. [3]ibid, p. 133.
[4]bid, p. 133. [5]*MIB*, p. 134; *IA*, X, p. 185. [6]ibid, p. 134.
[7]ibid, p. 134; *TGBI*, p. 256. [8]ibid, p. 134; ibid, p. 256. [9]ibid, p. 134.

Chapter 3

History of Theravāda Buddhism in Ceylon and South-East Asia Prior to the Eleventh Century AD

BUDDHISM arose in India in about the sixth century BC and soon began to play a vital role in the religious history of that country. The spread of Buddhism to countries outside India can be dated from the third century BC onwards and India played a very vital role in disseminating the message of the Buddha in the neighbouring lands. Buddhism underwent many changes in India, the Mahāyāna replacing the Hīnayāna as the major school of Buddhism from about the first century AD. By the seventh century AD Buddhism was no longer a dynamic force in India and the Hīnayāna school (the Theravāda is a sect of the Hinayāna school) had all but disappeared. By this time Ceylon where Buddhism had had an enthusiastic reception and rapid expansion, became the main centre of the orthodox form of Buddhism. Hīnayāna Buddhism had spread from India to south-east Asia as well and these countries began to look to Ceylon for religious inspiration. The eleventh century AD begins a very significant period in the history of Theravāda Buddhism. The common bond of Theravāda Buddhism brought together Ceylon and Buddhist south-east Asia, Ceylon playing a leading role in the exchange of ideas between them.

The earlier history of Buddhism in Ceylon and the Theravāda countries of south-east Asia would form a useful background in order to introduce the subject "Ceylon's relations with south-east Asia and Theravāda Buddhism from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries AD."

Ceylon

Buddhism was introduced to Ceylon by the thera Mahinda in the third century BC in the reign of Devānampiyatissa.[1] The arrival of the sacred relics, the alms-bowl of the Buddha, the Buddhist texts and the Bodhi tree from India[2] and the establishment of the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura[3] in the third century BC were important events associated with the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon. It is generally accepted that at the time of the introduction of Buddhism, there was no organised religion in Ceylon.[4] In addition to Brahmanism brought across by the Aryan settlers, there were numerous local cults such as Yakṣa cults, animistic cults, ancestor worship etc.[5] With royal patronage and popular enthusiasm Buddhism became the accepted religion of the country. According to the Mahāvaṁsa,[6] many Buddhist monks from foreign countries attended the foundation-laying ceremony of the Mahāthupa (Ruvanvalisaya) during the reign of Duṭṭha Gāmaṇī (101-77 BC). This perhaps indicates that Ceylon was fast becoming a popular centre of Buddhism. The Buddhist texts were committed to writing for the first time in the first century BC.[7] Inspired by Buddhism and under the able guidance of the Buddhist clergy, Ceylon developed her art, literature and other aspects of culture.

The Mahāvihāra, the seat of Theravāda Buddhism and the citadel of orthodoxy, played an important role in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon. Its conflict with the Abhayagirivihāra[8] (built by Vattagāmaṇī-Abhaya (29-17 BC).[9] and other rival sects of

[1]*Dpv*, ch. VIII, v. 13; *MHV*, ch. XII, vv. 7-8.
[2]ibid, ch. XVII, v. 21; ch. XIX, vv. 29-30; *PSMK*, p. 1.
[3]ibid, ch. XV, vv. 24-25; *HBC*, p. 52.
[4]*HBC*, p. 34.
[5]ibid, p. 34.
[6]*MHV*, ch. XXIX, v. 29.
[7]ibid, ch. XXXIII, v. 101.
[8]"The Abhayagiri fraternity, like the Mahāvihāra, is listed among the followers of the Theravāda by the Chinese traveller Itsing. Their scriptures were the same as those of the Mahāvihāra but we are informed by the commentator of the Mahāvaṁsa, that in certain sections of the Vinaya Piṭaka for example the Khandhaka and the Parivāra, the Canon, as studied in the Abhayagirivihara, had readings different from the corresponding text of the Mahāvihāra, and in interpretation, too, the two communities had different views......". *UCHC*, I, Part I, p. 246.
[9]*MHV*, ch. XXXIII, v. 81.

Buddhism forms the main theme of the religious history of Ceylon. Almost all the kings patronised either the Abhayagirivihāra or the Mahāvihāra. Although the Ceylon chronicles and other religious texts often refer to the rise of new sects opposed to the Theravāda and inspite of the patronage offered to the Abhayagirivihāra by a few rulers and occasional disagreements between the Mahāvihāra and the state regarding religious matters, the Mahavihāra and its tradition remained pre-eminent throughout the religious history of Ceylon.

In the third century AD Vohārika Tissa by suppressing the Vetulyavāda[1] purified the religion.[2] The suppression of the Vetulyavāda by king Goṭhābhaya took place in the first half of the fourth century AD.[3] Saṅghamitta, a Mahāyāna Buddhist monk, arrived in Ceylon during this time and was patronised by Mahāsena (334-362 AD) after his accession.[4] Due to Mahāsena's hostile attitude towards the Mahāvihāra many monks belonging to this sect fled to Rohaṇa in Southern Ceylon and to the Malay hills.[5] Many buildings including the Lohapāsāda of the Mahāvihāra were demolished by the ruler.[6] But Meghavaṇṇa Abhaya, a minister of Mahāsena, restored the Mahāvihāra.[7] The Jetavanārāma (Jetavana Vihāra) was constructed by king Mahāsena within the precincts of the Mahāvihāra inspite of the protests of the latter vihāra,[8] and it was dedicated to Tissa,[9] a friend of the king who dwelt in the Dakkhiṇārāma.[10] But the chief minister (mahāmacco) inspite of the king's opposition, disrobed Tissa.[11] This shows that Mahāsena towards the end of his reign was quite helpless to do anything against the followers of the Mahāvihāra.

The Chinese traveller Fa-hsien,[12] who visited Ceylon in the reign of Buddhadāsa at the beginning of the fifth century AD, stayed at the Abhayagirivihāra. He states that there were 5000 monks at the

[1]The term Vatulyavāda is used to refer to the Mahāyāna (*CJHSS*, vol. 9, No. 1 (January-June 1966), p. 55 fn. 1). According to Dr. Paranavitana, the Vetulyas or Vetullas (Sk. Vaitulyah or Vaipulyah) were a Mahāyānist sect of Northern India. *CCMT*, p. 208.

[2]*MHV*, ch XXXVI, v. 41.
[3]ibid, ch. XXXVI, vv. 111-112.
[4]ibid, ch. XXXVI, vv. 112-113.
[5]ibid, ch. XXXVII, v. 6.
[6]ibid, ch. XXXVII, v. 11.
[7]ibid, ch. XXXVII, v. 29.
[8]ibid, ch. XXXVII, v. 33.
[9]ibid, ch. XXXVII, v. 38.
[10]ibid, ch. XXXVII, v. 32.
[11]ibid, ch. XXXVII, v. 39.
[12]*HBC*, p. 97.

Abhayagirivihāra and 3000 monks at the Mahāvihāra.[1] The Chinese traveller's account indicates that the Abhayagirivihāra was flourishing at this time. But it is doubtful whether the Mahāvihāra had lost its popularity to the extent indicated by the Chinese traveller. It was about this time, in the reign of Mahānāma (409-431 AD), that Buddhaghoṣa, the great commentator, on hearing of the fame and the scholastic activities of the monks of the Mahāvihāra, came to Anurādhapura and stayed at the Mahāvihāra[2] and translated the Sīhaḷa commentaries on the Tipiṭaka into the Pali language.[3]

At the beginning of the sixth century AD a further purification of the Buddhist Saṅgha took place during the reign of Moggallāna 1.[4] His son, Kumāra Dhātusena (513-522 AD) also purified the Buddhist Saṅgha.[5] Towards the end of the sixth century AD the followers of the Vetulyavāda were defeated by Jotipālathera in a public controversy.[6] The Nikāyasaṅgrahava states that after the defeat of this sect in a public controversy, the Vetulyavāda had lost its popularity and the monks of the two Nikāyas—the Abhayagirivihāra and the Jetavanavihāra dismissed pride and lived in submission to the Mahāvihāra.[7] This indicates the importance of the Mahāvihāra in the sixth century AD. From the Chinese records and several Sanskrit inscriptions belonging to this period we learn that there was frequent religious intercourse between Ceylon and India and many Ceylonese monks visited the Buddhist shrines at Bodha Gayā. The Chinese text, Hing-tchoan of Wang Hiuen ts'e refers to the erection of a monastery at Bodh Gayā by a ruler of Ceylon for the accommodation of monks from Ceylon.[8] Two Sanskrit inscriptions, belonging to the sixth century AD found at Bodh Gayā, mention the erection of a Buddhist monastery and the presentation of a statue of the Buddha to the Bodh Gayā monastery by Mahānāma, a Ceylonese monk of the sixth century AD [9] Another inscription, belonging to the sixth or seventh century AD found at Bodh Gayā, refers to Prakhyāṭakīrtti, a Sinhalese monk, who erected a dwelling place at Bodh Gayā.[10] He is said to have

[1]*BRWW*, pp. LXXIII and LXXVI.
[2]*CV*, ch. XXXVIII, vv, 231-232, and 244.
[3]ibid, ch. XXXVII, v. 244.
[4]ibid, ch. XXXIX, v. 49.
[5]ibid, ch. XLI, vv. 1-2.
[6]ibid, ch. XLII, v. 35.
[7]*NKS*, p. 15.
[8]*JCBRAS*, XXIV, p. 75.
[9]*IA*, XV, pp. 356-359; *GB*, pp. 184-186.
[10]*ARASI*, pp. 156-157.

belonged to the royal family of Ceylon.[1]

In the seventh century AD the king of Kaliṅga visited Ceylon and became a monk under Jotipālathera.[2] He was followed by his wife and minister who entered the Saṅgha.[3] A recital of the Tipiṭaka was held under the patronage of Dall Moggallāna III (611-617 AD),[4] and an impetus was given to Buddhist literary activity.[5] King Silāmeghavaṇṇa (619-628 AD) in order to ensure the unity among the monks in the Saṅgha invited the monks of the Mahāvihāra and other fraternities[6] (very probably monks of the Abhayagirivihāra and the Jetavanārāma) and asked them to observe the uposatha ceremony in one place.[7] He thought that the religion would progress if the monks of the different fraternities worked together, but he was refused.[8] The Mahāvihāra monks did not agree to hold the uposatha ceremony with the others and the king was powerless to do anything against the monks of the Mahāvihāra.

Dāṭhopatissa II (659-667 AD) wanted to erect a vihāra for the Abhayagirivihāra.[9] But the monks of the Mahāvihāra protested against the king's idea.[10] But the latter carried out his plan.[11] The monks of the Mahāvihāra applied the pattanikkujjanakamma 'turning down of the alms-bowl' on king Dāṭhopatissa II.[12] It would seem that the monks of the Mahāvihāra were powerful enough to openly criticise the acts of the king. These facts clearly signify the important position occupied by the Mahāvihāra in the seventh century AD. During this period all the three Nikāyas[13] of Ceylon flourished under royal patronage.[14] Maintenance of villages was sanctioned by the king for the dwellers of the three Nikāyas.[15] Aggabodhi VII (766-722 AD) purified the Buddhist Saṅgha and

[1] *ARASI*, p. 156. [2] *CV*, ch. XLVI, vv. 44-45.
[3] ibid, ch. XLII, v. 46. [4] ibid, ch. XLIV, v. 47. [5] ibid, ch. XLIV, v. 47.
[6] ibid, ch. XLIV, v. 80. [7] ibid, ch. XLIV, v. 80.
[8] ibid, ch. XLIV, 80. [9] ibid, ch. XLV, vv. 29-30.
[10] ibid, ch. XLV, v. 30. [11] ibid, ch. XLV, v. 30.
[12] ibid, ch. XLV, v. 31.
[13] "The three Nikāyas referred to in the chronicles were the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagirivihāra and the Jetavana. There were two other sects known as Dhammaruci and Sāgaliya, but they were included in the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana sects respectively—though sometimes they are referred to by their former names." *HBC*, p. 195.
[14] *CV*, ch. XLVI, v. 16. [15] ibid, ch. XLVI, v. 16.

patronised the three Nikāyas.[1]

The Jetavanārāma Sanskrit inscription of the ninth century AD found in the precincts of the Abhayagirivihāra refers to the foundation of a vihāra for one hundred monks comprising twenty-five monks from each group of the four great Nikāyas.[2] There was also provision for forty monks for the study of the śāstras without affiliation to any of the Nikāyas.[3] These Nikāyas do not represent the traditional Nikāyas of Ceylon, which were the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagirivihāra and the Jetavanavihāra. The four Nikāyas of the Jetavanārāma Sanskrit inscription represent the four leading Nikāyas of the Buddhist Saṅgha of India.[4] It has been suggested that the four principal Nikāyas are the Mahāsaṅghikas, Sarvāstivādins, Sthaviravādins and the Sammitiyas.[5] The monks of the Abhayagirivihāra were probably the Sthaviravādins here.[6]

The Cūlavaṃsa refers to the construction of the Vīrankurārāma at the Abhayuttara (Abhayagiri) vihāra by Sena I (831-851 AD) and the offering of this vihāra by the king to the Mahāsaṅghika monks and the Theriya monks.[7] It has been pointed out that the term Theriya although generally used for the monks of the Mahāvihāra could be applied to the monks of the Abhayagirivihāra and the Jetavanārāma as well.[8] Indian and Tibetan lists of Buddhist sects mention all the three fraternities under the Sthaviravādin school.[9] Thus it is argued that both the terms Theriya and Sthaviravādins could be used for all three or any one of the main Buddhist fraternities in Ceylon.[10] If the reference to the Theriya monks in the Cūlavaṃsa in the reign of Sena I is to the monks of the Mahāvihāra, then it is very strange that the monks of the Mahāvihāra, who always regarded themselves as the orthodox group and who, as mentioned earlier, did not agree to hold the uposatha ceremony together with the monks of the other

[1] *CV*, ch. XLVIII, vv. 71 and 73.

[2] *EZ*, I, pp. 1-9. D.M. de Z. Wickremasinghe is of opinion that the script of this inscription is like the script used in the Magadha area in Northern India in about the middle of the ninth century AD. On palaeographical grounds it belongs to the first half of the ninth century AD and it possibly belongs to the reign of Sena I (833-853 AD).

[3] ibid, I. p. 5.

[4] *CJHSS*, vol. 9, No. I (January-June 1966), p. 62.

[5] ibid, p. 63.

[6] ibid, p. 63.

[7] *CV*, ch. L, vv. 58 and 69.

[8] *CJHSS*, vol. 9, p. 62.

[9] *Lsbpv*, pp. 25-26.

[10] *CJHSS*, vol. 9, No. 1 (January-June 1966), p. 62.

fraternities, agreed to live within the precincts of the Abhayagiri-vihāra with the monks of the other sects.[1]

The Vājiriyavāda was introduced to Ceylon during the reign of Sena I.[2] The Vājiriyas or Vājiriyavādins[3] seem to be identical with the Vājrayānists, the followers of the Tāntric school which flourished in North-Eastern India at this time. During this period the Vikramaśila monastery,[4] as a centre of Tāntric teaching, played an important role in the propagation of Mahāyāna Buddhism not only within the borders of India but also outside and its repercussions were felt in Ceylon too.[5] In the reign of Sena I, Śūtras like the Ratanakūṭa were introduced to Ceylon.[6] At this time a sect known as the Nīlapaṭadarśana appeared in the religious history of Ceylon.[7] The followers of this sect wore blue robes and preached indulgence in wine and love.

A recital of the Abhidhamma was held under the patronage of Sena II (853-887 AD).[8] He caused the whole of the Rattanasutta[9] to be written on a golden plate[10] and a sacrificial festival was held in its honour. He is known to have purified the Saṅgha and unified the three fraternities. Not very long after, Kassapa IV (898-914 AD) found it necessary to purify the Saṅgha by expelling indisciplined monks from the three fraternities.[11] He erected a Parivena[12] called the Samuddagiri in the Mahāvihāra and gave it to the Paṃsukūlikas.[13] Rev. Walpola Rahula while discussing sects or

[1]*CV*, ch. XLIV, v. 80.

[2]*NKS*, p. 18.

[3]*CJS*, II, Section G, p. 39.

[4]*JASBNS*, V, pp. 1-13.

[5]*CJHSS*, vol. 9, No. 1 (January-June 1966), p. 65.

[6]*NKS*, p. 18. The Ratanakūṭa Sūtra is the second of the seven classes into which the Mahāyāna Sūtras of the Chinese Canon are sub-divided. (*CJS*, II, p. 39). The Ratanakūṭa or Pao-chi is one of the seven categories of the Mahāyāna class of the Sūtra Piṭaka in the Chinese Buddhist Canon (ibid, vol. 9, p. 64.)

[7]*NKS*, p. 18. The followers of the Nīlapaṭadarśana practised extreme forms of Tāntrism (ibid, II, p. 40.)

[8]*CV*, ch. LI, v. 79.

[9]ibid, ch. LI, p. 155, transl. fn 3: The Ratanasutta is the Sutta I in the Cūlavagga of the Suttanipāta.

[10]ibid, ch. LI, v. 79.

[11]*CV*, ch. LII, v. 10.

[12]Parivena (Sinhalese Pirivana) denotes a building intended for the instruction of the monks. (ibid, ch. XXXVII, transl. p. 4 fn 1).

[13]"The word Paṃsukūla means rags found in dust-heaps and paṃsukūlin is a bhikkhu who wears garments made of such rags patched together. But the name must not be taken too literally; it is merely a symbol of the utmost poorness" (*CCMT*, p. 202). The Paṃsukūlins were those who used only rag-robes (*HBC*, p. 195).

Nikāyas in Ceylon states that there were Paṃsukūlikas belonging to the Mahāvihāra as well as to the Abhayagirivihāra.[1] According to the Cūlavaṃsa, the Paṃsukulikas separated themselves from the Abhayagirivihāra and formed a group in the reign of Sena II.[2] This shows that there were Paṃsukūlikas who belonged to the Abhayagirivihāra. Possibly the Paṃsukūlikas referred to in the Cūlavaṃsa in the reign of Kassapa IV were followers of the Mahāvihāra. This would explain how it was possible for Kassapa IV to build a Parivena for the Paṃsukūlikas within the precincts of the Mahāvihāra. Although the Dhammarucika[3] and the Sāgalika[4] sects were also patronised by Kassapa IV,[5] he seems to have assisted the Mahāvihāra a great deal. He purified the Buddhist Saṅgha by expelling indisciplined monks from the three fraternities.[6] He erected a dwelling in a forest and granted it to the araññavāsī (forest dwellers) monks in the Mahāvihāra.[7] Even the king's general Rukkha and the grand scribe Sena offered their services to the Mahāvihāra.[8] Kassapa V (929-939 AD) reformed the whole Saṅgha.[9] A recital of the Abhidhamma was held under the patronage of Mahinda IV (956-972 AD).[10] Two tablets of Mahinda IV found at Mihintale refer to this king's contribution towards the popularisation of the study of the Abhidhamma.[11] Sena V who, ascended the throne in the last quarter of the tenth century AD also followed the traditional policy of the rulers of this period in protecting the Buddhist Saṅgha.[12]

The evidence cited in the preceding pages shows clearly that the Mahāvihāra played an important role in the development of Theravāda Buddhism in Ceylon during the period up to the tenth

[1]*HBC*, p. 196. [2]*CV*, ch. LI, v. 52.

[3]The Dhammaruci or the Dhammarucika belonged to the Abhayagirivihāra (*HBC*, p. 195).

[4]The Sāgaliya or the Sāgalika sect was formed in the reign of Goṭhābhaya (309-322 AD). When the Dhammarucikas or the residents of the Abhayagirivihāra accepted the Vetuḷyavāda, a Mahāthera named Ussiliyā-Tissa with about three hundred monks separated themselves from the monks of the Dhammarucikas and came to stay at the Dakkhināgiri from the Abhayagirivihāra. A Mahāthera named Sāgala belonging to this group taught religion there and from that time this new group was known as the Sāgalika. ibid, p. 92.

[5]*CV*, ch. LII, v. 17. [6]ibid, ch. LII, v. 10. [7]ibid, ch. LII, v. 22.
[8]ibid, ch. LII, vv. 31-33. [9]ibid, ch. LII, v. 44. [10]ibid, ch. LIV, v. 36.
[11]*EZ*, I, pp. 75-113. [12]*CV*, LIV, v. 68.

century AD. The rise of the Abhayagirivihāra was an important phenomenon in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon. Although it received favoured treatment from a few rulers like Mahāsena, it was not able to overshadow the Mahāvihāra ultimately. The Ceylon chronicles and other religious texts make many references to the rise of new sects, which were opposed to the Mahāvihāra. But inspite of this it would seem that under royal patronage the Mahāvihāra, the citadel of orthodoxy, remained pre-eminent as the main centre of Theravāda Buddhism during this period.

Burma

The Ceylon chronicles refer to the introduction of Buddhism to Suvaṇṇabhūmi by the thera Sona and the thera Uttara under the patronage of the Buddhist king Aśoka of India.[1] Several scholars like Vincent Smith, Kern have doubted about the authenticity of Aśoka's mission to Suvaṇṇabhūmi.[2] Aśoka himself in his Rock Edicts V and XIII gave a list of countries where he sent his religious teachers to popularise the religion of the Buddha.[3] But there is no reference to his mission to Suvaṇṇabhūmi in this list. But the silence of Aśoka's Rock Edicts relating to this mission mentioned in the Ceylon chronicles does not throw any doubt about the authenticity. The Ceylon chronicles give in detail the list of all the countries where Aśoka's missionaries visited. But Aśoka's Rock Edicts do not mention the name of all of them where Aśoka's missions were sent. We know that the Rock Edicts do not refer to the missions to several places, namely, Kāśmira and the Himālayan countries, but the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa mentions them, and it has been accepted by most scholars about the historicity of the missions to the Himālayan countries referred to in the Ceylon chronicles. Most probably Aśoka did not like to mention the name of all countries in his Rock Edicts but only he referred to those which he wanted to give by name. Therefore, the omission of mission of Sena and Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi in Aśoka's Rock Edicts does not prove or disprove the historicity of the facts referred to in the Ceylon chronicles.

[1] *Dpv*, VIII, v. 12; ch. *Mhv*, ch. XII, vv. 5-6.
[2] Asoka, pp. 43 and 55; *MIB*, p. 117. [3] *AS*, pp. 21-29, 63-76.

Rāmaññadesa or Lower Burma is referred to as Suvaṇṇabhūmi in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions.[1] It is generally accepted by most scholars that Suvaṇṇabhūmī is Lower Burma.[2] Suvaṇṇabhūmi or the land of gold as an important centre of commerce was very familiar to Indian people from a very early period. Several Buddhist Jātaka stories of the late centuries BC., old Sanskrit works like the Kathākośa and the Bṛhatkathā, and several other books mention many sea-voyages between Indian ports and Suvaṇṇabhūmi. These sources give us an idea about the established trade between India and Suvaṇṇabhūmi. The Mahājanaka Jātaka refers to the visit of prince Mahājanaka with a group of merchants to Suvaṇṇabhūmi.[3] The Suppāraka Jātaka gives the story of a sea-voyage of several merchants between Bhārukacca (Broach in Gujrat) and Suvaṇṇabhūmi.[4] The Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṁgraha records the story of Sānudāsa, who went to Suvaṇṇabhūmi with a group of adventurers.[5] The Milindapañha refers to Suvaṇṇabhūmi.[6] The Divyāvadāna describes the region of the earth where the soil is gold.[7] The Mahākarma Vibhaṅga records the story of merchants who used to visit to Suvaṇṇabhūmi from Mahākosalī and Tamralipti.[8] It refers to the conversion of Suvaṇṇabhūmi to Gavāmpati.[9] The Sāsanavaṃsa refers to Gavāmpati's voyage to Suvaṇṇabhūmi.[10] The Niddesa, a Buddhist canonical work, while narrating a sailor's experiences in high seas, gives the name of Suvaṇṇabhūmi and several other countries.[11] The Purāṇa mentions that outside Bhāratvarṣa there is a country whose soil and mountains are gold.[12] Kautilya's Arthaśāstra refers to Suvaṇṇabhūmi.[13] Even Greek, Latin, Arabic and Chinese writings mention the name of Suvaṇṇabhūmi. There is a reference in Ptolemy's[14] account to two countries in Further India, i.e., Chryse Chora or

[1]Suvaṇṇabhūmi raṭṭa-saṃkhāta Rāmaññadesa, *IA*, XXII, p. 151.

[2]*SAS*, p. 4; *AHSEA*, pp. 132-133; *HB*, III, p. 50; *JA*, XIX, p. 121; *LLG*, II, pp. 142-143; *AHS*, p. 43; *JBRS*, XIV, p. 153.

[3]*Jataka*, VI, p. 22.

[4]*The Jatakamala*, *SBB*., I, pp. 124ff; *Jataka*, III and IV, pp. 124, 86.

[5]*SD*, Part I, p. 37.

[6]*MLP*, p. 359

[7]*DV*, p. 107.......Mahāntaṁ Sauvarnabhūmim prithivipradecaṃ......"

[8]*MKV*, p. 39.

[9]ibid, p. 39.

[10]*Sas*, p. 37

[11]Niddesa, I, p. 155.

[12]*MP*, ch. XIII, vv. 12, 42; *SD*, p. 45.

[13]*KA*, *Bk*. II, ch. XI, p. 91.

[14]*AI*, 1927; *AISTBB*, p. 3.

Khryse Khora—Golden Land and Chryse Chersonesus or Khryse Khersonese—Golden Peninsula. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* also refers to them.[1] According to Gerini, Chryse Khora was situated just above the maritime region of the Gulf of Martaban.[2] According to R.C. Majumdar, Ptolemy's Chryse Chersonesus is the Malay Peninsula and his Chryse Chora is a region to the north of it and that is Suvaṇṇabhūmi.[3]

If the identification of Suvaṇṇabhūmi with Lower Burma is accepted, Buddhism would have been introduced to that country during the reign of Aśoka. But no archaeological evidence exists in Lower Burma regarding the prevalence of Buddhism as early as the third century BC. The Pali inscriptions found at Sirikhetta now Hmawza in the Prome district in Central Burma dates from the end of the fifth century AD or from AD 500.[4] Therefore, the identification of Suvaṇṇabhūmi with Lower Burma is not conclusive.

There is a reference in the Ceylon chronicles to the propagation of Buddhism in Aparantaka by Yonakadhammarakkhita in the reign of Aśoka.[5] According to the author of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, Aparantaraṭṭha is none other than the Sunāparanta of the Burmese, i.e., the region lying to the west of the Upper Irrawaddy[6] Taw Sein Ko identifies Aparantaka with Sunāparanta, a region on the right bank of the Irrawaddy river near Pagan in Upper Burma.[7] The Po-U-Daung inscription (AD 1774) of Burma refers to a region called Suvaṇṇāparanta, which means the western end or extremity of Suvaṇṇabhūmi.[8] In the British Burma Gazetteer Thoonaparanta (Sunāparanta) has been identified with the upper portion of the Thayet district on the west bank of the Irrawaddy river.[9]

It is generally accepted by most scholars that Aparanta is in Western India. The kingdom of Aparanta is generally identified with the Northern Konkan with its capital at Surpāraka or Suppāraka.[10] Surpāraka is identified with Supārā or Sopārā in the Thana district in Bombay in Western India.[11] The Mahābhārata, which may have been compiled between 500 BC and 400 AD refers to Aparanta.[12] Aparanta finds mention in the Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa

[1]*PES*, paras 52 and 63. [2]*RPGEA*, pp. 65-66. [3]*SD*, p. 46.
[4]*AHSEA*, pp. 35 and 133. [5]*DPV*, ch. VIII, v. 7; *MHV*, ch. XII, vv. 5-6.
[6]*Sas*, p. 9 [7]*IA*, XXIII, p. 103. [8]*AISTBB*, p. 3.
[9]*BFG*, III, p. 746. [10]*IS*, part I, p. 53; *GEB*, p. 58; *NAGB*, p. 14.
[11]ibid, part I, p. 53.
[12]*AHSL*, p. 309; *BV*, IX, p. 335; *VV*, CCXVII, 7885-6; *SV*, XLIX, 1780-82.

as the region lying north of the Sindhu country in Western India.[1] Rajaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāṁsā makes a reference to the five-fold divisions of India: Madhya-deśa (Central India), Udīcya (Northern India), Prācya (Eastern India), Dakshiṇāpatha (Deccan) and Aparanta (Western India).[2] The Bhuvanakośa section of the Purāṇas refers to this same division.[3] According to Cunningham, Sindhu and Western Rājputana with Cutch and Gujrat, and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narmadā river are included in Aparanta or in Western India.[4] The above arguments show that Aparanta identified as Western India is often mentioned in the earlier historical literature in India. But the tradition regarding the identification of Aparanta as a region in Burma is rather late. There is no reference to Aparanta in the Burmese literature and inscriptions belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era. Even the Burmese inscriptions belonging to the eleventh and twelfth centuries make no mention of Aparanta.[5] Therefore the location of Aparanta in Upper Burma is doubtful.

There is evidence to show that Theravāda Buddhism flourished in Lower Burma in the sixth century AD. Several inscriptions in Pali have been found at Hmawza. The discovery of these inscriptions clearly indicate that Theravāda Buddhism existed at that time. Two gold plates were found at Maunggan, a small village near Hmawza.[6] Each of the two Maunggan gold plates contains three lines and each plate begins with "ye dhammā hetuppabhavā—" in Pali. The two plates are given below:

First Plate

Line I. Ye dhammā-hetuppabhavā tesam-hetum-Tathāgata āha tesañ-cha-yo-nirodho evaṃvādi-mahāsamano-ti.[7]

[1]*MP*, ch. 58.

[2]*THCPATC*, pp. 12, 517; *SGAMI*, p. 73. Rājasekhara flourished during the ninth century AD.

[3]ibid, p. 73. [4]*AGI*, pp. 13-14. [5]*NAGB*, p. 14.

[6]*JA*, XIX, pp. 130ff; *JA*, XX, p. 193.

[7]"All these phenomena which are born of causes, Tathāgata has preached of those causes, and he has also preached of their cessation. The Great Sramana is the holder of such he has a doctrine." *BD*, IV, transl., pp. 73-74.

Line 2. Catvāro-iddhipādā[1] catvāro-samappadhānā[2] catvāro-satipatthāna[3] catvāri-ariyasaccāni[4] chatuvesārajjāni[5] pañchin-driyāni[6] pañcha-chakkūni[7] chha.

Line 3. Asāddhāraṇāni[8] satta-bhojjhaṅg a

[1]Iddhipādā means roads to power. They are called the four following qualities for they, as guides are indicating the road to power connected therewith; and because they are forming, by way of preparation, the roads to the power constituting the fruition of the path, namely, concentration of intention (Chanda), energy (viriya), consciousness (citta) and investigation (Vīmaṃsā)... *NBD*, p. 56.

[2]Samappadhāna means right exertion. There are four, exertion to prevent sinful conditions arising, exertion to put away sinful states already existing, exertion to produce meritorious states not yet in existence and exertion to retain meritorious conditions already existing,...*ADPL*, p. 435.

[3]Satipaṭṭhāna means fixing the attention or applications of attentiveness (lit. awarenesses of attentiveness). The four satipaṭṭhānas are: contemplation of body, contemplation of feeling, contemplation of mind, and contemplation of mind-objects.......*NBD*. p. 143, ibid, p. 466.

[4]Ariyasaccāni means sublime truths. The four Noble Truths are: the truth of suffering, the origin or the cause of suffering, the extinction or cessation of suffering and the path leading to the cessation of suffering. ibid, pp. 73 and 132; ibid, 56; *DEBS*, p. XII.

[5]Vesārajjāni means confidence. A Buddha has four vesārajjas or subjects of confidence or fearlessness. They are the consciousness that he has attained omniscience, that he has freed himself from human passion, that he has rightly described the obstacles to a religious life, and that he has rightly taught the way to obtain salvation....*ADPL*, p. 564.

[6]Indriyam means an organ of sense, a power or faculty. The five indriyas are—faith, energy, recollection, contemplation and wisdom......ibid, p. 159; *MIB*, p. 69.

[7]Pāncacakkhu means the five sorts of vision. They are—the human eye, the divine eye, the eye of wisdom, the eye of universal knowledge and the eye of a Buddha. By the last is meant the knowledge of the four truths, the discovery of which is the distinguishing feature of a Buddha. ...ibid, pp. 326-327.

[8]The six 'Higher Spiritual Powers' consist of five mundane (lokiya) powers attainable through the utmost perfection in mental concentration, and one supermundane power attainable through penetrating insight, i.e., extinction of all biases, in other words, realization of Arhatship or Holiness. They are: magical powers, divine ear, penetration of other's mind, divine eye, remembrance of former existences and extinction of all biases..... *NBD*, p. 2.

[9]Bhojjhaṅga or Bojjhaṅgo means a member or constituent or link of Bodhi or Enlightenment. There are seven Bojjhaṅgas, or requisites for attaining the supreme knowledge of a Buddha. They are: attentiveness or recollection or mindfulness, investigation of the Law, energy, rapture or joy, tranquility or calm or repose, concentration or contemplation and equanimity or indifference. ......*NBD*, p. 29; *ADPL*, p. 93.

magga[1] nava-lokuttara dhamma[2] dasa-balāni[3] cuddasa Buddha-koni[4] aṭṭhārasa-Buddhadhammāni.[5]

It is clear from the first plate that apart from this well-known Buddhist formula there are references to several categories of Saddhamma from the Abhidhamma. The Vibhaṅga, one of the seven books of the Abhidhamma, explains in detail some of these categories.

[1]Ariyo-aṭṭhaṅgiko magga or the 'noble or holy eightfold path' is the way pointed out by the Buddha for escape from the misery of existence or it consists of eight gradually developed stages culminating in the realisation of supreme knowledge. These are: right view, right resolve or right thought, right speech, right action, right living, right exertion, right recollection and right meditation. ......ibid, p. 81; ibid, p. 67; *DEBS*, p. XII.

[2]Nava-lokuttara dhamma......lokuttara means supermundane. They are nine. They are-the four supermundane paths, and the four supermundane fruitions of the paths and nirvāṇa. The four patha are .....the one realizing the path of stream-winning, the one realizing the path of once-return, the one realizing the path of never-return and the one realizing the path of Holiness. The four supermundane fruitions are...the one realizing the fruition of stream-winning, the one realizing the fruition of once-return, the one realizing the fruition of never-return and one realizing the fruition of Holiness. The last one is Nirvāṇa. It means extinction. "Extinction of greed, extinction of hates. extinction of delusion: this is called Nirvāṇa.......ibid, pp. 17 and 93; ibid, p. 222.

[3]Dasa-balani or the ten powers or the one possessed of the ten, i.e., the Buddha. The Perfect One understands according to reality, the possible as possible and the impossible as impossible; the result of past, present and future actions; the path leading to the welfare of all; the world with its many different elements; the different inclinations in beings; the lower and higher faculties in beings; the defilements, purity and rising with regard to the trances, deliverances, concentration and attainments; remembering many former rebirths; perceiving with the divine eye how beings vanish and re-appear again according to their actions and gaining through extinction of all biases possession of 'Deliverance of mind 'and' Deliverance through wisdom ...*NBD*, p. 37; *MIB*, p. 62.

[4]Difficult to explain it.

[5]Aṭṭhārasa-Buddhadhammāni...The eighteen āvenika dharmas, otherwise termed Buddha-dharmas or qualities of a Buddha, are, shortly stated, the following: the seeing of all things past, of all things future, of all things present, propriety of actions of the body of thought, firmness of intention or intuition, of memory, of samādhi, of energy, of speed, of emancipation, of wisdom, freedom from fickleness or wantonness, from noisiness, from confusedness, hastiness, from heedlessness, from inconsiderateness...*MIB*, p. 63; *PED*, p. 113, part I (A).

Second Plate

Line 1. Ye-dhammā-hetuppabhavā (te)sa(m)-hetu-Tathāgato āha tesan-cha-yo nirodho evaṃvādi-mahāsamaṇo ti iti-pi-so-bhagavā arahaṃ.[1]

Line 2. Sammāsaṃbuddho vijjācharaṇasampanno sugato lokavidu anuttaro-purisadhammasārathi satthā-devamanūssānaṃ Buddho bhagavā-ti.[2]

Line 3. Svākkhyāto bhagavatā-dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opaṇāyiko pachchattam veditavvo viññuhiti.[3]

Like the first plate, the second plate opens with the well-known Buddhist formula. The second and third lines of this plate refer to the Buddha. They can be traced in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya.[4]

Three fragments of a stone inscription in Pali were found round the base of the Bawbawgyi pagoda, near Hmawza.[5] The inscription reads as follows:

(1) (Samphusa) na samphus(i)tattaṃ vedanākkhandho sānna-khandho saṅkhārakkandho

(2).....diṭṭhivipphanditam diṭṭhiayam vuccati chaḷāyatanapaccayā phasso tattha katam(a)(pha)ssa paccaya vedana yam ceta(s)i(kam).

(3) Saññojanaṃ ga(ho) patilaho patiggaho abhiniveso paramaso mummago......

This inscription refers to some of the contents of the Vibhaṅga of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. But the subject-matter of the inscription is not arranged in a systematic way and it never follows the written order of the Vibhaṅga. It refers to some of the constituent elements...vedanā (sensation), saññā (consciousness) and saṁkhāra

[1]p. 60-61.

[2]"..... Believing the Exalted one to be the Arhant, the fully-Enlightened One, wise, upright, happy. world-knowing, supreme, the bridler of man's wayword hearts; the Teacher of gods and men, the Exalted and Awakened One" ...*SBB*, III; *DB*, part II, p. 99.

[3]"......believing the truth to have been proclaimed by the Exalted One, of advantage in this world, passing not away, welcoming all, leading to salvation, and to be attained to by the wise, each one for himself." ...ibid, p. 99.

[4]*DN*, II, p. 93.

[5]*JA*, XIX, p. 135; *JA*, XX, p. 193; *ARASI*, p. .22.

(confections); and six āyatanas, namely, eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind and contact (phassa) and fetters (saṃyojana).[1]

A book of twenty leaves of gold was found at Hmawza.[2] In these twenty leaves there are about nine passages from the different texts of the Piṭakas.[3] An inscribed gold leaf in Pali has been found at Kyundawza.[4] All these inscriptions are written in characters similar to the Andhra-Kaṇṇada script of South India of about the sixth century AD.[5]

From all these plates and inscriptions found at or near Hmawza it is clear that it was an important centre of Theravāda Buddhism by the sixth century AD. Buddhist canonical texts written in the Pali language were known and widely studied during this period. The Pali records or inscriptions in the Andhra Kadamba script of South India found at or near Hmawza indicate that Burma had close connections with the Theravāda Buddhist centres in Southern India.

In the fifth and sixth centuries AD Kāñcipuram, Negapatam and Kāverīpaṭṭanam in South India were important centres of Theravāda Buddhism. The importance of Kāñcipuram is testified to by Buddhaghosa.[6] The Buddhaghosa tradition seems to suggest that important centres of Buddhism existed in eastern Deccan and the Far South till as late as the sixth and seventh centuries AD.[7] According to the Ceylon chronicles,[8] Buddhaghosa was born near Bodhgayā in Southern Bihar, i.e. North-Eastern India and he visited the island of Ceylon from this region. The Sāsanavaṃsa[9] records that Buddhaghosa was born in a Brahmin village named Ghosagāma near the Bodhi tree in India. According to the *Visuddhimagga*,[10] moraṇḍa-kheṭaka was the home of Buddhaghosa. This place has been identified with Koṭanemalipuri and Gundlapalli in the Guntur

[1]*DEBS*, p. XIII; *AP*, Book I, pp. 245 and 270.

[2]*ARASI*, 1938-39, pp. 12-22; *ARASI*, 1926-27, p. 200.

[3]ibid, pp. 12-22.

[4]ibid, 1928-29, pp. 108-109. Kyundawza, a small village near Hmawza in central Burma.

[5]*ARASB*, 1924, p. 28; 1938-39, p. 12; *ARASI*, 1926-27, pp. 171ff,

[6]*Bg*, p. 26.

[7]*AISTBB*, p. 45

[8]*CV*, I, ch. XXXVII, v. 215 and p. 22, fn. 7.

[9]*Sas*, p. 29.

[10]*CHJ*, II, p. 239; *CJHSS*, III, 1960, p. 40.

district.[1] The Saddhammasaṅgha states that Buddhaghosa came to the island of Ceylon from Negapatam in South India.[2] The Glass Palace Chronicle refers to the two traditions.[3] One which says that he came to Ceylon from the Thaton kingdom to bring copies of the Piṭaka[4] and the other which says that he came to Ceylon from Madhyadesa (Middle country) in Northern India.[5] The Burmese texts refer to Gola, a city near Thaton in Lower Burma as the birth place of Buddhaghosa.[6] Born in Thaton, Buddhaghosa took his journey to Ceylon in the year of religion 943 = AD 400.[7] According to some scholars, Buddhaghosa came to Burma from Ceylon to the popularisation of Buddhism.[8] The Burmans describe an important phenomenon in the history of Buddhism in Burma when Buddhaghosa returned to Burma from Ceylon, after the completion of his work from Sinhalese into Pali. He is said to have brought a copy of Kaccayāna's Pali grammar to Burma from Ceylon and he translated this book into Burmese.[9] He is said to have written a volume of parables into Burmese and he introduced the Burmese Code of Manu into Burma from Ceylon.[10] The Cūlavaṃsa mentions that he returned to the Middle country to pay his respects to the Bodhi tree.[11] However, apart from the Burmese tradition, which itself is not unanimous. there is no other evidence to suggest that Buddhaghosa was a Talaing from Lower Burma. The Kalyāṇī inscriptions record the more important events relating to the growth and development of the history of Buddhism in Burma. But they do not mention anything about the part played by Buddhaghosa in the introduction of the Buddhist texts to Lower Burma. This would have been undoubtedly an important event in the history of Buddhism in Burma. But the omission of it in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions throws some doubt on its authenticity. Pali being the common language of intercourse among the Theravāda countries, Buddhaghosa's translation of the Sinhalese commentaries into Pali made these texts available to the Buddhists of Burma as well. We may, therefore, surmise that Buddhaghosa's endeavours gave an impetus to the development of Theravāda Buddhism in Lower Burma.

From epigraphical sources found in Hmawza mentioned above,

[1] *CJHSS*, p. 40. [2] *Sds*, p. 53. [3] *GPC*, pp. 46-50.
[4] ibid, p. 46. [5] ibid, p. 46. [6] *Bgp*, p. 22
[7] *BP*, p. XVI, fn. 1; *AISTBB*, p. 24 [8] *MIB*, p. 125.
[9] *LWB*, p. 40. [10] *IA*, XIX, p. 119. [11] *CV*, ch. XXXVII, v. 246.

it is clear that Theravāda Buddhism existed in Lower Burma in the sixth century AD. This is corroborated by the facts recorded in some of the Chinese travellers' accounts. Among them I-tsing's record is very useful. He visited India and some parts of South-east Asia from China at the end of the seventh century AD and he spent in these regions for about twenty-five years (AD 671-695). While mentioning the names of several places in South-east Asia he states in his account that the inhabitants of Shih li-ch'a-ta-lo revere the three gems.[1] This Shih-li-Ch'a-ta-le has been identified with Sirikhetta or Prome.[2] I-tsing mentions that there were four Nikāyas or Schools in Sirikhetta. The four schools were: the Āryamahāsaṅghika, the Āryasthavīra, the Āryamūlasarvāstivāda and the Āryasammitiya.[3] Among these four schools the Āryasthaviravāda is the most primitive school of Buddhism. About a century after the Buddha's Mahāparinibbāna, there was a division among the monks. Some monks protested against the strict rules which existed at that time. They wanted some relaxations of these rules. But the orthodox monks did not agree with them and they did not allow to do. Thus these orthodox monks were known as the Sthaviravādins, Pali Theravādins,[4] while the monks who tried for the relaxation of the strict rules were later on called the Mahāsaṅghikas.[5] It was "a division between the conservative and the liberal, the hierarchic and the democratic," and the Sthaviravāda was the most conservative school and maintained its doctrines in Pali.[6] The Sarvāstivāda school was one of the branches of the Theravāda or the Sthaviravāda.[7] The Mahāvyutpatti[8] refers to two names of Sarvāstivāda, viz., Mūlasarvāstivāda and Āryasarvāstivāda. According to a tradition, the Sarvāstivādins were divided into four schools, viz., the Mūlasarvāstivāda, the Dharmaguptas, the Mahāśāsakas and the Kāśyapīyas.[9] Another tradition suggests that this school was divided into seven sects.[10] I-tsing[11] states that when the Sarvāstivāda was further sub-divided in the seventh century AD, it was known as the Mūlasarvāstivāda. The Āryasammitiya school was a Hinayānist or Theravāda school.[12] Thus I-tsing's account shows that Buddhism

[1] *ARBRIMA*, pp. 9-10.
[2] *HB*, 32; *JBRS*, pp. 160-161.
[3] *ARBRIMA*, pp. 7-8.
[4] *SL*, p. 3.
[5] ibid, p. 3.
[6] ibid, p. 3.
[7] ibid. p. 4.
[8] ibid, p. 4.
[9] ibid, p. 4.
[10] *HBT*, p. 38.
[11] *SL*, p. 9.
[12] *YC*, pp. 178, 242, 246.

flourished at Prome in the seventh century AD. Not only I-tsing's record, the chronicles of the T'ang dynasty of China (AD 618-907) refer to the religion of Prome. These chronicles mention a P'iao (Pyu) kingdom which had eighteen vassal states mainly in Southern Burma.[1] The capital of this kingdom has been identified with Shih-li-cha-ta-lo of the Chinese traveller.[2] The chronicles of the Tang dynasty state, "when the P'iao king goes out in his palanquin, he lies on a couch of golden cord. For long distances he rides an elephant.........The wall of his city built of greenish glazed tiles, is 160 li round, with twelve gates and with pagodas at each of the four corners. The people live inside.........They are Buddhists and have a hundred monasteries.........At seven years of age, the people cut their hair and enter a monastery; if at the age of twenty they have not grasped the doctrine they return to lay estate........".[3] This fact shows that Buddhism flourished at Prome during the eighth and ninth centuries. AD. This Pyu kingdom of Prome mentioned above came to an end in the ninth century AD.[4] The Thai state of Nanchao which occupied the west and North-west of Yuanan and which dominated upper and Lower Burma, conquered the Pyu kingdom in AD 832.[5]

Not only the epigraphical and literary sources show the existence of Buddhism in Prome, the archaeological and sculptural evidences also prove that Buddhism flourished. Several stone sculptures depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha were discovered at Prome. In one relief the Buddha was about to take food offered to him by the two figures, and these two figures were Tapussa and Bhallika, the two merchants.[6] In another relief,[7] the Buddha is represented as seated in Bhūmisparśamudrā on a lotus pedestal and on his left there is an almsbowl. He is surrounded by four figures who are offering bowls to the Buddha. In another tablet[8] the Buddha is surrounded by two figures on each side. Below them are six persons, three on each side of the Dharmacakra (the Wheel of the Law). Below them are two gazelles. This scene represents the Deer Park in Benares. Relief sculptures representing the story of the taming of the elephant Nālagiri at Rājagaha, the birth story of Gautama were found at Hmawza.[9] These sculptures have been

[1] *AISTBB*, pp. 55-56. [2] *TMSEA*, p. 68 *AHSEA*, p. 133. [3] *B*, p. 12.
[4] *AHSEA*, pp. 134-135. [5] ibid, pp. 134-135. [6] *AISTBB*, p. 65.
[7] *ARASI*, 1927-28, p. 129. [8] ibid, 1909-1910, p. 123.
[9] ibid, 1938-39, pp. 7-9.

assigned to a period from the sixth to the ninth centuries AD.[1] They would have been erected under the patronage of the rulers of the Vikrama dynasty which was ruling at Prome in the seventh and eighth centuries AD.[2] Several urn inscriptions in the Pyu language mixed with Pali found near the Payagi pagoda at Hmawza refer to this dynasty.[3] From stone sculptures and inscriptions it is clear that the rulers of the Vikrama dynasty were devout worshippers of the Buddha and under their patronage Buddhism flourished at Prome. This dynasty probably had close touch with the Buddhist centres in South India. Because the characters of the several inscriptions found at Prome were like the Kadamba script or Kaṇṇada-Telegu script or the Pallava-Kadamba region of South India.[4]

According to the Burmese tradition, Pagan in Upper Burma was founded in the beginning of the second century AD.[5] But little is known of the history of upper Burma until the eleventh century AD. However, it is known that both Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna[6] were known in Pagan before the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism from Thaton in Lower Burma by Anuruddha of the Pagan dynasty in the middle of the eleventh century AD.

Siam

The traditional belief in Siam is that Buddhism was introduced to that country during the reign of Aśoka.[7] According to the Ceylon chronicles.[8] Mahādhammarakkhita and Mahārakkhita introduced Buddhism to Mahāraṭṭha and the Yona region during the reign of Aśoka. The author of the Sāsanavaṃsa identifies Mahāraṭṭha with Siam.[9] He mentions that Mahāraṭṭha is Mahānagararaṭṭha in Siam.[10] He states further that the Yonaka country[11] extends along the valleys of the Menam and Mae Phing rivers and includes the Shan states to the north of these.

It is generally accepted by most scholars that Mahāraṭṭha is the

[1] *ARASI*, 1909-1910, p. 123; *AISTBB*, pp. 65-66.
[2] *AHSEA*, p. 133; *EI*, XII, p. 127. [3] ibid, XII, pp. 127-132.
[4] *JA*. XX, pp. 121 ff. [5] *AHSEA*, p. 136.
[6] *RASI*, 1915-1916, p. 79. [7] *TSS*, 1959, pp. 44-46.
[8] *DPV*, ch. VIII, vv. 8-9; *MHV*, ch. XII, vv. 5-6.
[9] *Sas*, p. 8. [10] ibid, p. 8. [11] ibid, p. 5.

region of the upper Godavari[1] It is Mahārāshtra in Western India.[2] The Yona region has been located in the north-west region of India,[3] where there were Indo-Greek settlements.[4] But the tradition regarding the identification of Mahāraṭṭha and the Yona region with regions in Siam is rather late. There is no archaeological evidence which suggests the prevalence of Buddhism in Siam as early as the third century BC. Thus the location of Mahāraṭṭha and the Yona region visited by the Buddhist missionaries in Aśoka's period in Siam seems unacceptable.

From the archaeological finds discovered at the Menam valley, it is clear that this region was an important centre of Theravāda Buddhism from the sixth or seventh century AD. onwards. The Menam valley can be divided into regions, the upper and the lower Menam valley. The Dvāravatī kingdom in the lower Menam valley in lower-central Siam was a well-known centre of Buddhism. The Chinese traveller Hiuan Tsang refers to a Buddhist kingdom named T'o-lo-po-ti[5] which is situated between the Pyu kingdom of Sirikhetta (Prome) in Lower Burma and the Khmer kingdom.[6] E.J. Eitel refers to T'o-lo-po-ti as Dvārapatī or Dvāravatī, the lord of the gate.[7] Coedes and other scholars refer to it as Dvāravatī.[8] The archaeological remains show that this kingdom was established in the sixth or seventh century AD.[9] The inhabitants of the kingdom of Dvāravatī were Mon people.[10] Their capital was at first at Nagarama Patha or Nagara Prathama (Nakorn Patom or more usually, Phra Pathom), and later at Lavo or Lopburi.[11] The political influence of the Dvāravatī kingdom extended as far as Haripuñjaya (Lampoon) in Northern Siam. A fragment of an inscription in archaic Mon belonging to the sixth century has been found at Phra Pathom.[12] Another Mon inscription has been found in a monument called San Sung at Lavo or Lopburi in Siam[13] and consists of four brief sections. It refers to various gifts dedicated to a Buddhist monastery. It is not dated. But according

[1] *Sas*, p. 8; *JPTS*, 1888, p. 69; *ADM*, p. 48. [2] ibid, p. 8.
[3] bid, p. 5; *ADM*, p. 47. [4] ibid, p. 5; ibid, p. 47.
[5] *LHT*, p. 101. [6] *TMSEA*, p. 69; *JRASGBI*, 1966, p. 40.
[7] *ACHBAS*, p. 24.
[8] *TMSEA*, p. 69; *JAOS*, LXV, 1945, p. 98; *JRASGBI*, 1966, p. 40.
[9] *AHSEA*, p. 135.
[10] ibid, p. 135; *TMSEA*, p. 69; *TSSFACP*, I, p. 238; *ACHBAS*, p. 25.
[11] ibid, p. 135. [12] *TMSEA*, p. 69; *AIBL*, 1952, p. 146.
[13] *BEFEO*, XXV, pp. 186-188; *BEFEO*, XXX, pp. 82-85.

to Coedès it belongs to the seventh century AD.[1] Duroiselle places its date about the sixth and seventh centuries AD.[2] Hall is of opinion that it can be ascribed to the eighth century AD.[3] According to Duroiselle,[4] a few letters of the inscription seem to be closely related to the Pallava script of South India, an important centre of Theravāda Buddhism of the fourth and fifth centuries AD. The Dharmacakra (the wheel of the Law) associated with a figure of a deer, foot-prints of the Buddha, the Vajrāsana. seated Buddha images and votive tablets bearing inscriptions 'Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā......' in Pali were found at Phra Pathom.[5] Several images of the Buddha in bronze or bluish limestone not later than the sixth century AD have been found at P'ong Tuk in the province of Rājapuri (Rātburi) in Lower Siam.[6] Among several ruined buildings discovered at P'ong Tuk, one contained the remains of a platform and fragments of columns.[7] The appearance of this platform reminds one of similar platforms at Anurādhapura in Ceylon.[8] From the archaeological finds, the architectural and sculptural remains and Pali inscriptions it is clear that from the sixth century onwards Theravāda Buddhism flourished in the lower Menam valley and it continued to be the dominant religion there. But when the lower Menam valley came under the control of the Khmer rulers who were patrons of Brahmanism and Mahāyāna Buddhism, Theravāda Buddhism also continued to flourish there.

The Haripuñjaya kingdom[9] of the upper Menam valley was an important kingdom in Northern Siam. The Jinakālamālī, a text of the first half of the sixteenth century AD, indicates that there was some political alliance between the kingdoms of Haripuñjaya, Rāmaññanagara[10] and Lopburi. It is stated in this text that in the

[1]*TMSEA*, p. 69. [2]*RSASB*, 1919, p. 19. [3]*AHSEA*, p. 135.
[4]*RSASB*, 1919, p. 21.
[5]*TMSEA*, p. 70; *JAOS*, LXV, p. 100; *ACHBAS*. pp. 26-27.
[6]ibid, LXV, p. 100; *AA*, vol. 11, p. 69; *IAL*, II, p. 15 and X, p. 42.
[7]ibid, LXV, p. 99; ibid, II, p. 11.
[8]*TSSFACP*, I, p. 216.
[9]The name Haripuñjaya is correct, but the inhabitants of northern Thailand mispronounced it as Haribhuñjaya...... The town is generally known as Muang Lampoon (Muang, 'town') or Nakorn Lampoon (Nakorn 'nagara'). At present it is called Cangwat Lampoon or Lampoon province. *TSGEC*, p. 96 fn. 6.
[10]According to Prof. Jayawickrama, the city of Rāmañña, i.e. Rāmaññanagara.

year 1204 of the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha, the sage named Vāsudeva founded the city of Haripuñjaya.[1] Then the princess Cammadevī, the daughter of the king of the city of Lava,[2] and the wife of the provincial ruler of Rāmaññanagara, began to rule at Haripuñjaya 1206 years after the Mahā parinibbāna, of the Buddha i.e., in AD. 663.[3] It is said that the king of the city of Lopburi sent his daughter to become the ruler there on the advice of a Buddhist monk and a layman of Haripuñjaya.[4] After leaving her husband, she came to Haripuñjaya with soldiers and 500 great Elders versed in the three Piṭakas in the second half of the seventh century AD.[5] We have already seen that Lopburi, the home of the princess Cammadevī, was an important centre of Theravāda Buddhism and that Rāmaññanagara her husband's kingdom, which was situated between Lopburi and Ayuthia in the lower Menam valley was also a centre of Theravāda Buddhism. It has also been noticed that the lower Menam valley was peopled by a Mon-speaking race. Therefore, the story of the Jinakālamālī indicates the introduction of Mon culture and Theravāda Buddhism to Haripuñjaya in the second half of the seventh century AD. It must, however, be borne in mind that the Jinakālamālī is a work of the sixteenth century AD and the foundation of the Haripuñjaya kingdom, as narrated in the Jinakālamālī, took place towards the middle of the seventh century AD. Therefore, there is a gap of about eight and half centuries between this event (i.e., the foundation of the Haripuñjaya kingdom) and the date assigned to the writing of the Jinakālamālī. So it is not possible to ascertain whether the facts relating to a period as early as the seventh century AD in the Jinakālamālī are very accurate. Unfortunately, we have no archaeological evidence regarding the prevalence of Buddhism in this part of Siam prior to the eleventh century AD.

In the tenth century AD the friendly relations that existed between Lopburi and Haripuñjaya in the early period seem to have been strained. The Jinakālamālī mentions that towards the end

should read Rāmanagara. This state was situated between Lopburi and Ayuthia: ...... *TSGEC*, p. 100 fn. 6.

[1] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 36.

[2] *TSGEC*, p. 96 fn 8: Muang Lopburi (Lop, 'Lava', burt, 'Puri'). It is now the Cangwat Lopburi (Province) of Thailand.

[3] ibid, p. 100; *BEFEO*, XXV, pp. 36-37.

[4] ibid, p. 100; ibid, XXV, p. 37.

[5] ibid, p. 37; ibid, p. 100.

of the tenth century AD the king of Haripuñjaya invaded the city of Lopburi.[1] It says[2] that in the middle of the eleventh century AD in the reign of Kambala of Haripuñjaya, an epidemic of plague raged for six years and in order to escape from it, the people of Haripuñjaya fled to the city of Suddhammanagara (Thaton in Lower Burma). Being harassed by the king of Punnakāma (or Punnagāma or Pagan), they came to the city of Haṃsāvati (Pegu) in lower Burma.[3] When the epidemic of plague had subsided, all of them returned to Haripuñjaya.[4] Probably, the king who harassed them was king Anuruddha of Pagan, who attacked Manuha, the Mon king of Thaton. It is possible that some Mon people from Southern Burma came over to Haripuñjaya with the Mon people of Haripuñjaya and settled there[5] because of Anuruddha's invasion as well as the ties of friendship established. That Burmese influence was felt in the Haripuñjaya kingdom is confirmed by the fact that scholars like Blagden and Halliday have detected Burmese characters of the eleventh century AD in several Mon inscriptions at Haripuñjaya dated in the eleventh century AD[6] "......the people of Haripuñjaya brought the Mon and the Burmese alphabet to their city and adopted it in Northern Siam. It survives to the present day. Even today a few people of Mon descent are to be found in the city of Lampoon."[7]

All these facts give an idea about Mon dominion over Haripuñjaya in Northern Siam. The Mon people made an important contribution to the development of Theravāda Buddhism in the lower Menam valley in Southern Siam. Similarly, we may assume that the Mon kingdom of Haripuñjaya too played a vital role in the establishment of Theravāda Buddhism in the upper Menam valley in Northern Siam.

Cambodia

The earliest known kingdom in Cambodia which was founded in the lower valley of the Mekong in the first century AD was Funan.[8] Its capital for a time was Vyādhapura, 'the city of hunters',[9]

[1] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 38; *TSGEC*, p. 103.
[2] ibid, p. 39; ibid, p. 104.
[3] ibid, p. 39; ibid, p. 104.
[4] ibid, p. 39; ibid, p. 104.
[5] ibid. p. 80 fn. 6.
[6] *BEFEO*, XXX, pp. 86ff.
[7] *TSGEC*, p. 104 fn. 1.
[8] *TAKE*, p. 12; *TMSEA*, pp. 57-58.
[9] *BEFEO*, XXVIII, p. 127.

which was situated near the hill of Ba Phnom and the village of Banam the province of Prei Veng. According to a local legend,[1] the kingdom was founded by an Indian Brahmin named Kauṇḍinya, who is known in the Chinese sources as Hun-t'ien. This Brahmin adventurer of the lunar race saw in his dream that he had received a divine bow from a spirit. According to its direction, he went to Funan with this bow. The queen of the country, Liu-ye 'willow leaf,' attacked his ship and he shot an arrow from his divine bow. She was frightened and she submitted herself to him who accepted her as his wife and ruled the country as king and queen.

There is evidence to show that Buddhism flourished at Funan in the fifth and sixth centuries AD under royal patronage. Among the kings of the Funan dynasty the reigns of Kauṇḍinya Jayavarman (AD 478-514) and Rudravarman (AD 514-539) were important from the religious and cultural point of view. In AD 484 Kauṇḍinya Jayavarman sent a mission to the Chinese ruler under the leadership of a Buddhist monk named Nāgasena.[2] According to Pelliot, the Annals of the Liang dynasty of China (AD 502-556) record[3] that Kauṇḍinya Jayavarman in AD 503 sent a mission with a coral image of the Buddha to the Chinese ruler Wu-ti, who was a patron of Buddhism. During the reign of the same king two learned Buddhist monks of Funan, Seng-Kia-p'o or Saṅghapāla or Saṅghavarman and Man-t'o-lo-Sien or Mandrasena came to the Chinese court in the early years of the sixth century AD to translate the Buddhist scriptures.[4] The first monk knew several languages. Both monks worked in China several years for translating Buddhist documents. This indicates the existence of Buddhist monasteries at Funan in Cambodia at this time, where Buddhist texts were studied. After Kauṇḍinya Jayavarman, Rudravarman came to the throne in AD 514.[5] The Annals of the Liang dynasty also refer[6] to his cultural and friendly relations with Wu-ti, the Chinese ruler. King Rudravarman in AD 539 made it known to the court of China that in his country there was a long Hair Relic of the Buddha.[7] The Chinese ruler, on learning of this news, sent a monk named Cha

[1] *TMSEA*, p. 57; ibid, III, pp. 248-303; *TBR*, I, p. 233; *AHSEA*, p. 25.
[2] *AHSEA*, p. 32. [3] *BEFEO*, III, p. 294. [4] ibid, pp. 284-285.
[5] *TAKE*, p. 30; *AHSEA*, p. 33. [6] ibid, p. 35; *BEFEO*, III, pp. 284-303.
[7] ibid, III, pp. 284-303; *TBR*, I, p. 235.

Yan-Po or Tan Pao or Megharatana to Funan in search of it.[1] It is probable that the king of Funan sent it to the Chinese ruler. A Sanskrit inscription[2] found at Ta Prohn in the province of Bati in Southern Cambodia which refers to Jayavarman and his son Rudravarman, begins with an invocation to the Buddha. In another stanza there is a reference to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. There is no date to this inscription but on palaeographical grounds it belongs to the middle of the sixth century AD.[3] R.C. Majumdar and K. Bhattacharya are of opinion that it belongs to the reign of Rudravarman.[4] This inscription would help to confirm the facts relating to the existence of Buddhism at Funan in the reigns of Jayavarman and Rudravarman as narrated in the Chinese Annals. Coedès is of opinion that at this time Mahāyāna Buddhism did not flourish at Funan.[5] He states that Hīnayāna Buddhism with its Sanskrit language existed at Funan in the fifth and in the first half of the sixth centuries AD.[6] A statue of the Buddha with an inscription 'Ye dhammā......' has been found at Toul Preah or Prah That in the province of Prei Veng in Southern Cambodia.[7] The whole text is in Pali. But the word 'hetuprabhavā' is in Sanskrit. There is no date to this inscription. It probably belongs to the sixth or the seventh century AD.[8] K. Bhattacharya is of the opinion that the script of this inscription belongs to the seventh century AD.[9] The use of the Pali language in this inscription is probably an indication of the existence of Hīnayāna Buddhism in Cambodia.

Bhavavarman I, the ruler of Chenla which was once a vassal state of Funan, captured the major part of the kingdom of Funan in the

[1] *BEFEO*, pp. 262-263; *TBR*, p. 235.
[2] *BEFEO*, XXXI, 1931, pp. 9-10:
Jitaṃ vijitavāsanāsahitasarvvadoṣāriṇā
nirāvaraṇabuddhinādhigatasarvvatha (sampadā)
Ji(n)ena Karuṇātmanā parahitapravṛttātmanā
digantaravisarppinirmmalabṛhadyaça
dhātrā nirmmita eka eva sa bhuvi çrīrudravarmma
tatpitrā jayavarmmaṇā nṛpatinādhyakṣo dhanānāṃ kṛtaḥ
buddhadharmmam athāryyasaṅgham akhilais svaissvair guṇais saṅgataṃ
[3] *BEFEO*, XXXI, pp. 9-10; *TAKE*, p. 31.
[4] *EFEO*, XLIX, p. 14; *TASMS*, VIII, pp. 4-7.
[5] *BEFEO*, XXXI, p. 9.
[6] *TMSEA*, p. 61.
[7] *IC*, I, p. 297; *TDFLSH*, pp. 185-186.
[8] *BEFEO*, XXXV, p. 158.
[9] *EFEO*, XLIX, p. 17.

middle of the sixth century AD.[1] Due to this the capital of Funan was transferred to Angkor Borei in Southern Cambodia.[2] Probably some kings of the Funan dynasty ruled there up to the seventh century AD,[3] when Isanavarman I (AD 611-631), a nephew of Bhavavarman I, completed the conquest of Funan in AD 627.[4] The inscription of the conquerors of Funan and their successors affirm that, although the rulers of the Chenla kingdom were followers of Śaivism, they patronised Buddhism too. An inscription[5] belonging to the reign of Isānavarman I found at Sambor Preikuk or Isānapur, honours the Nāga which protected the Buddha with his folds. Another inscription,[6] belonging to his reign, refers to the erection of a linga of Hara (i.e. Siva) in AD 627 by a Brahmin named Vidyāviśeṣa, an officer in the administration of king Isānavarman. Vidyāviśesa, the founder, was a poet, logician and a scholar excelled in grammar, Vaiśeṣīka philosophy, Nyāya logic and had a knowledge in Buddhist doctrine. It shows that the scholars of this period studied the Buddhist doctrine and philosophy. It indicates the importance of Buddhism during this period. An inscription dated AD 664 in both Sanskrit and Khmer[7] has been found at Wat Prei Vier or Wat Prei Val in the province of Ba Phnom in Southern Cambodia. It belongs to the reign of Jayavarman I (AD 657-681) and refers to two Buddhist monks Ratnabhānu and Ratnasiṁha. Here the king refers to these two monks as "treasures of virtue, knowledge, gentleness, patience, compassion, austerity and prudence."[8]

The Chinese traveller I-tsing refers to Buddhism in Cambodia. He writes that Buddhism flourished at Po-nan (Funan) in early times.[9] "...... the Law of the Buddha prospered and was spread abroad. But today a wicked king has completely destroyed it."[10] But it is doubtful whether Buddhism has actually suffered such disaster at

[1]*AHSEA*, p. 90; *TBLC*, p. 48. [2]*TMSEA*, p. 88. [3]ibid, p. 88.
[4]*AHSEA*, p. 92. [5]*TAKE*, p. 51.
[6]*BEFEO*, XXVIII, pp. 44-45:
Kavir vvādi suhṛdvargga ātmaprāṇād amanyatā
Vidyāviçeṣanāmā ya ācāryyo lokaveditā
Icchatā bhaktim īçāna sthirāñ janmani janmani
teneha sthāpitaṃ idam liṅgam çuddhābhisandhinā.
[7]*ISCC*, pp. 60-63; *IC*, VI, pp. 6 ff; *TASMS*, VIII, pp. 37-38.
[8]ibid, pp. 61-63; ibid, VI, p. 8; ibid, VIII, p. 38.
[9]*ARBRIMA*, pp. 10-12. [10]ibid, pp. 10-12.

the hands of the wicked king as the Chinese traveller thought. The inscription of Hin K'on in Sanskrit and in the old Khmer language which probably belongs to the eighth century AD was found near the Korat region in Central Eastern Siam.[1] It refers to a Rājabhikkhu 'a Royal monk' named Nṛpendrādhipativarman, who was the son of a person of the same name. He gave ten vihāras to the Buddhist community.[2] According to the chronology of the kings of Cambodia, there was a king whose name was Nripatindravarman. He was the grandson of Bālāditya, the founder of the Lunar dynasty of Bālādityapura, better known as Aninditapura in Lower Chenla.[3] Nripatindravarman ruled in the latter half of the seventh century AD[4] and seems to have been a contemporary of Jayavarman I.[5] But nothing is known of Nripatindravarman's ordination as a monk and his importance in the religious history of Cambodia from the records of that country. Thus the identification of this Rājabhikkhu 'Royal monk' is not certain. However, the inscription of Hin K'on shows that possibly Buddhism flourished there.

Jayavarman I's death was followed by a period of internal trouble. The beginning of the eighth century AD witnessed the division of the country into two parts: Upper Chenla and Lower Chenla.[6] Upper Chenla was in the middle Mekong valley to the north of the Dangrek mountain chain.[7] Lower Chenla can be identified with present Cambodia together with the Mekong delta[8] and it was subdivided into several kingdoms and principalities.[9] The Javanese invaded Lower Chenla in the latter part of the eighth century AD[10] and several small states in Lower Chenla paid tribute to the Śailendra dynasty of Java at this time.[11] The religious history of the country shows that Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished in the eighth century AD.[12] An inscription[13] dated AD 791 or 792 found at Prasat Ta Keam in the district of Kralanh in the province of Siem Reap records the erection of an image of Bodhisattva Lokeśvara.

Jayavarman II (AD 802-850),[14] the founder of the Angkor or Kambuja kingdom (AD 802-1432), reunited Lower Chenla and put

[1] *IC*, VI, pp. 73-74.
[2] ibid, p. 74.
[3] *AHSEA*, pp. 95 and 874.
[4] ibid, p. 874.
[5] ibid, pp. 93 and 874.
[6] *AHSEA*, p. 94; *TMSEA*, p. 92.
[7] ibid, p. 92.
[8] ibid, p. 92.
[9] ibid, p. 92.
[10] *AHSFA*, p. 96.
[11] *TBLC*, p. 49.
[12] *LEHII*, p. 162.
[13] ibid, p. 162; *TASMS*, VIII, p. 571.
[14] *TMSEA*, p. 96.

an end to the political supremacy of Java over that kingdom.[1] The next important king who ascended the throne of Cambodia was Yaśovarman (AD 889-900), the son of Indravarman I (AD 877-89), who took the title of Yaśovarman I.[2] Several inscriptions belonging to the reign of Yaśovarman I afford valuable informations about the prevailing religious conditions of the Angkor kingdom and Yaśovarman's role in the religious history of the country. These inscriptions reveal that Brahmanism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism flourished under royal patronage at this time. The Sanskrit inscription of Prei Prasat near Angkor Thom in Northern Cambodia written in nāgari characters[3] and the inscription of Tep Pranam near Angkor Thom also in Sanskrit and in nāgari characters[4] deal with the foundation of the Brahmāśrama (monastery for the devotees of Brahma) and the Saugatāśrama (monastery for the Buddhist monks) respectively[5] and the inscription of Prasat Komnap near Angkor Thom in Sanskrit and in nāgari characters commemorates the establishment of a Vaiṣṇavāśrama (monastery for the worshippers of Visnu).[6]

The three Sanskrit inscriptions of Bat Cum[7] (near Angkor Thom) of AD 960 belonging to the reign of Rājendravarman II (AD 944-968) throw interesting light on the religious conditions of the period. The first inscription[8] begins with an invocation to the Buddha, Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi. The second one begins with an invocation to the Buddha, Vajrapāṇi and Prajñāpāramitā.[9] The third one also invokes the Buddha, Vajrapāṇi and Prajñāpāramitā.[10] In the reign of Jayavarman V (AD 968-1001), the successor of Rājendravarman II, Mahāyāna Buddhism grew in importance. An inscription of Srey Santhor or Wat Sithor[11] in Southern Cambodia

[1] *AHSEA*, p. 97. [2] *TMSEA*, p. 98.
[3] *TASM*, VIII, pp. 133ff; *BEFEO*, XXXII, pp. 97ff.
[4] ibid, pp. 127ff; ibid, pp. 97ff; *IC*, III, pp. 231ff.
[5] .... cetasā
.... ya Brāhmaṇāśrama
Sa Śrīyasovarmmanṛpo nṛpendraḥ Kambubhupatiḥ
Saugatābhyudayāyaitaṃ kṛtavān Saugatāsramaṃ.
[6] *TASMS*, VIII, pp. 119ff; *BEFEO*, XXXII, pp. 90ff.
Śrīyaśovarmaṇā tena dadhatā dhāma vaiṣṇavaṃ
vaiṣṇavānnānisarggāya kṛtoyaṃ vaiṣṇavāśramaḥ.
[7] ibid, VIII, pp. 220-32. [8] ibid, p. 222. [9] ibid, p. 225.
[10] ibid, pp. 228-29. [11] *IC*, VI, pp. 195-211.

belonging to the reign of Jayavarman V has been found on the east side of the Mekong, a little above the present side of Phnom Penh. It shows that Kīrtipaṇḍita, the Buddhist minister of Jayavarman V, played an important role in the development of Buddhism in Cambodia in the second half of the tenth century AD.[1] The stanzas 51 to 100 of this inscription[2] contain instructions of the king in support of Buddhist practices. The inscription invokes the Dharmakāya, Sambhogakāya and Nirmāṇakāya of the Buddha.[3] It also refers to the importation of books in Buddhist philosophy and treatises such as the Śāstra Madhyavibhāga and Tattavasaṇgraha[4] from foreign lands. Kirtipaṇḍita got down these Mahāyāna books from abroad The inscription further says that the Brahmin priest should be versed in Buddhist learning and practices. He should recite Buddhist prayers. An inscription of Phnom or Phum Banteay Neang[5] near Monkol-borei in Central Cambodia, dated AD 985 and 986 deals with the erection of a statue of Prajñāpāramitā and an image of Lokeśvara. Thus the historical sources of Cambodia reveal the prominence of Mahāyāna Buddhism during the period up to the tenth century AD although there are a few indications that Hinayāna Buddhism[6] was not completely unknown.

[1] *ICIC*, pp. 162-163. [2] ibid, p. 161.

[3] "A Buddha has three bodies or forms of existence. The first is the Dharmakāya, which is the essence of all Buddhas. It is true knowledge or Bodhi. It may be described as Nirvāna and also as the one permanent reality underlying all phenomena and all individuals. The second is the Sambhogakāya, or body of enjoyment, that is to say the radiant and superhuman form in which Buddhas appear in their paradises or when otherwise manifesting themselves in celestial splendour. The third is the Nirmāṇakāya or the body of transformation, that is to say the human form worn by Sākyamuni or any other Buddha and regarded as a transformation of his true nature and almost a distortion, because it is so partial and inadequate an expression of it." *HB*, II, pp. 32-33.

[4] *IC*, VI, p. 198:

The Tattvasangraha is known as one of the principal works of the mystic sect. The Madhyavibhāga Śāstra is supposed to be the work either of Vasuvandhu or of Asaṅga.

[5] *ICIC*, p. 163. [6] p. 74.

Chapter 4

Ceylon's Political Relations With South-East Asia

CEYLON had strong links with South-east Asia from the early centuries of the Christian era. Its relations with South-east Asia can be divided into two main headings: political and cultural. But "if a broad generalisation can be made, Ceylon's relations with South-east Asia were mainly of a cultural nature and it was very rarely and for very brief periods that any political impact was felt on either side."[1] Little evidence is found in the chronicles of Ceylon and South-east Asian sources about political relations between them. But these sources on the other hand give ample evidence regarding cultural ties that existed between the two regions. The geographical situation of Ceylon in the Indian ocean which is at the entrance of the Bay of Bengal from the western side and on the midway between Europe and the Far East encouraged her to develop as an important sea-port for trade and commerce and paved the way to establish its contract with South-east Asia. Cosmas Indicopleustes[2] mentioned that trades-people from different parts of the world came to Ceylon port to purchase articles from here and at the same time Ceylonese ships also went to several places to sell their things such as cloth, precious stones, spices and elephants. Ceylon established its trade relations with the court of the Eastern Tsin in the reign of I-hi (405-419 AD). Not only Buddhist manuscripts and sacred objects but also pearls, precious stones, ivory, golden filigree work and 'very fine shaggy stuff of white colour' probably Ceylonese cloth were sent to the Imperial Court of China .

[1] *CJHSS*, III, No. I, January-June, 1960, p. 58.
[2] *HSP*, Ist Series, 98, pp. 363-73.
[3] *JCBRAS*, XXIV, 1917, pp. 74-105; *UCR*, April-October, 1967, XXV, pp. 1-2.

Ceylon's keen interest in the trade of the Indian ocean helped it to expand its trade with several countries and in course of time it became one of the major figures in the trade of the South-east Asian Zone. A Javanese inscription of the eleventh century AD refers[1] to Ceylonese merchants at some ports of Java. The chronicles of Ceylon contain significant information about Ceylon's trade in elephants and its political relations with Burma in the reign of Parākramabāhu I (AD 1153-1186). It is clear from the chronicles that Ceylon was doing extremely well in the trade in elephants. But it suffered seriously when the king of Burma after consulting the Burmese ambassador in Ceylon asked his people to stop all business transactions with foreigners. At that time they were selling elephants for a hundred or a thousand silver nikkhalas.[2] But the king gave order to sell elephants at the price of two or three thousand.[3] He stopped this free trade in elephants and took the control of this trade in his hand. These high prices of elephants affected Ceylon's trade and it was one of the factors which led to hostilities between the two countries It was due to the Burmese king their relations took a serious turn. The king did not behave properly with envoys of the Ceylonese king, Parākramabāhu I. It was the custom of the Burmese king to send an elephant as gifts to the king of Ceylon with every Burmese ship which touched Ceylon's port. But the Burmese king stopped it. At that time some Sinhalese people who were going to Cambodia by land route through Burma were badly treated by the people of the Burmese king They took their wealth and were thrown into prison though they showed a letter addressed to the Burmese king from the king of Ceylon. Again the Ceylonese envoys got ill-treatment from the Burmese king who captured their elephants, ships and took their money. The Burmese king also "added insult to injury by binding pestles to the feet of the Ceylon envoys and employing them to sprinkle water in the prison."[4] By his order the Ceylon envoys were forced to give a written statement that no ships belonging to Ceylon would touch the Burmese ports any more and no guarantee would be given by the Burmese king to the Ceylon envoys for the safety of their lives. It is said that no blame should be given to him if the latter found

[1] *LEHII*, p. 268; *CHJ*, I, pp. 301ff. [2] *CJHSS*, p. 44 fn. 2.
[3] *CV*, ch. LXXVI, vv. 17-19.
[4] ibid, LXXVI, vv. 16 and 20-25; *CJHSS*, p. 45.

their lives in danger. After this statement the Burmese forced the Ceylon envoys Vagissara Ăcariya and Dhammakitti Paṇḍita to take a leaky ship for their return journey to Ceylon. According to the agreement Ceylonese goods arrived in Burma for the exchange of fourteen elephants and silver from the Burmese king. But latter took away all these things and flatly refused to give anything in return. He also seized a Ceylonese princess who was going to Cambodia through Burma. The Ceylon king, Parākramabāhu I became angry and declared war against Burma when he was informed of all these facts by the Ceylon envoys.[1]

Parākramabāhu I gave order to his ministers to capture the Burmese king or to kill him. His treasurer gladly accepted this proposal and he himself undertook this expedition with the help of army leaders. It took five months to prepare this war. Many war ships from the Ceylon port went towards Burma. But due to adverse winds some were totally destroyed and only five ships reached the port of Kusumiya (modern Bassein) in lower Burma. From there they went to Papphālatittha, a port and then entered the city of Ukkama It is difficult to identify Ukkama. Martaban, an important port in Lower Burma, was known in early times as Muttima or Muttama.[2] According to Sirima Wickremasinghe, Ukkama was most probably a Sinhalese distortion of Muttama.[3] At Ukkama the Sinhalese soldiers under the leadership of Nagaragiri Kitti fought a great war against Burma. They attacked and destroyed the Burmese army. They killed the ruler and captured his country. According to the Burmese chronology, Alaungsithu (AD 1113-1165 or 1167) was the Ruler of Lower and Upper Burma at this time and Pagan or or Arimaddanapura was his capital.[4] The Glass Palace Chronicle records that he went to Ceylon and married a Sinhalese princess. He also brought an image of Mahākassapa thera to Burma from Ceylon. It also mentions that he sent to Ceylon one Kala as the ambassador of his country there.[5] This Kala has been described in the Cūlavaṁsa as a slanderer whose heinous act brought the war with Ceylon.[6] Probably the Burmese chronicle refers to these facts before the Sinhalese-Burmese war when Ceylon had friendly relations with Burma. Alaungsithu was put to death by his own sons in 1165 AD. It

[1] *CV*, ch. LXXVI, vv. 28-36.
[2] *JBRS*, XXXIX, part II, p. 191.
[3] *CJHSS*, p. 48.
[4] *AHSEA*, p. 731.
[5] *GPC*, pp. 114 & 118.
[6] *CV*, ch. LXXVI, v. 15.

is difficult to agree with the chronicle of Ceylon which states that the Burmese king died at Ukkama and not at his capital, Arimaddanapura. It is very probable that the provincial ruler of Ukkama who was in change of Lower Burma was killed by the Sinhalese soldiers at his city. One Maung Than Tun suggests that Sinhalese-Burmese war took place in the reign of Narathu (AD 1165-1174), the successor of Alaungsithu.[1] The chronicle of Burma mentions that Narathu was murdered by the Kalas of Patai kāra.[2] Maung Than Tun opines that the Burmese king was killed by the people from Ceylon. But due to chronological difficulty this cannot be accepted. An inscription belonging to the reign of Parākramabāhu I refers to a land granted to Kit Nuvaragal (Kitti Nagaragiri) for his memorable performance in the war against Burma.[3] It was recorded in the twelfth year of the reign of Parākramabāhu I and it helps us to fix the date of the Burmese-Sinhalese war. Most probably Kitti Nagaragiri received this land for his important contribution and services to his country during the critical period.

At the end of the war a friendly agreement was reached between the two countries. According to the agreement, Ceylon used to get as many elephants as it wanted every year from Burma. Ceylon was happy with the agreement reached with Burma, especially on elephants. It was a new milestone in Ceylon-Burma relations and proved a great blessing for the two countries.

It is clear from the above statements in the Cūlavaṁsa that Ceylon was not the only country which had strained relations with Burma. The latter maintained a very hostile attitude towards Cambodia also. The capture of the Ceylon envoys and princess who were going by road to Cambodia through Burma by the king of Burma indicates that Burma had bitter political relations with Cambodia at that time. They were no longer regarded as friendly and useful neighbours, though the relations between Ceylon and Cambodia became closer and there was no dissension between them. They lived in friendship.

[1] *TSUL*, 1956, pp. 268-269.
[2] *GPC*, pp. 133-134.
[3] *EZ*, III, p. 321, lines 15-16.

Chapter 5

Religious Intercourse between Ceylon and Burma

THE eleventh century AD is an important landmark in the history of both Burma and Ceylon. There is evidence to show that in this century close political, cultural and religious ties existed between the two countries. The Burmese and Ceylonese chronicles do not say anything about the early relations between Burma and Ceylon. Before Anuruddha's (Burmese Anoratha) conquest of Thaton, Burma was divided politically and, during the pre-Anuruddha period, there is no record of intercourse with Ceylon. Although before the eleventh century AD there is no proof of Burma's relations with Ceylon, it does not necessarily follow that there was no contact at all between the two countries. The political, cultural and religious links of the eleventh century AD indicate the existence of friendly relations between the countries even in the early period. During the eleventh century AD. Ceylon had fallen upon evil days. Political crises checked the progress of the country and confusion and disorder confronted her everywhere and she was under the rule of foreign kings for several years (AD 993-1070).[1] During this period of troubled politics the Cūlavaṃsa refers to political relations between Burma and Ceylon.[2]

According to the *Cūlavaṃsa*,[3] Vijayabāhu I (AD 1065-1120) sent envoys with valuable gifts to Anuruddha, the king of Rāmañña in Burma, seeking his assistance in the struggle against the Coḷa invaders. The king of Rāmañña is said to have sent in return many ships bearing costly gifts but there is no reference to the sending of any troops to aid Vijayabāhu I. One can only

1 *CHC*, I, Part I, pp. 347-351; I, Part II, p. 427
CV, Ch. LVIII, vv. 8-9. 3 *CH*, LVIII, vv. 8-10.

conclude, in general terms, with Professor Paranavitana that 'Material help was forthcoming from the king of Burma.'[1]

Before the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism at Pagan in Upper Burma by Anuruddha, Mahāyāna Buddhism prevailed there.[2] A form of Nāga worship according to the Burmese chronicles also existed at Pagan.[3] It is generally accepted that at the time of the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism at Pagan, there was no organised religion there. About this time the Aris became very prominent in Upper Burma. They were the priests of Tāntric Mahāyānism[4] in which Nāga and spirit worship appear to have been prominent.[5] The Aris appear to have been the same as the Samaṇakuttakas referred to in the Sāsanavaṃsa.[6] They were very influential on the Popa hill at Thamati, a village near Pagan.[7] Finot, a French scholar, believes that Viṣṇu was the god of the Aris and their cult was influenced largely by Nāga worship[8] Some scholars state that they represented a debased form of Mahāyāna Buddhism influenced by the Nāga cult on the one hand and Śaivism and Tāntrism on the other.[9] According to Duroiselle, they were a Buddhist sect belonging to the northern school of Buddhism and about the last quarter of the eighth century AD they were influenced by Tāntrism.[10] From about the eighth century onwards Buddhism was in a state of decline in India and Mahāyāna Buddhism with an admixture of Tāntrism occupied an important place in the religious history of India. During the eighth and ninth centuries AD there was constant intercourse between Buddhist Tāntric monasteries of North-Eastern India and Burma.[11] It is probable that through this intercourse Tāntrism as preached by the Aris became firmly established at Pagan. During this time Theravāda Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in Lower Burma. The Glass Palace Chronicle mentions that under the influence of Shin Arahan, a Talaing Theravādin monk who came from Thaton to Pagan, Anuruddha became a staunch follower of Theravāda Buddhism.[12] According to the advice of Shin Arahan, Anuruddha sent an envoy

[1]*ASCAR*, 1949, para 160, p. 31. [2]*SBB*, p. 89. [3]*GPC*, p. 59.
[4]*ARASI*, 1915-1916, p. 93. [5]*GPC*, p. 63. [6]*Sas*, p. 56.
[7]*GPC*, pp. 59-60. [8]*JA*, XX, 1912, pp. 124-125.
[9]E. Huber, La Fin De La Dynastie De Pagan, *BEFEO*, IX, 1909, p. 584; *BS*, p. 179.
[10]*ARASI*, 1915-1916, p. 93. [11]ibid, pp. 87ff. [12]*GPC*, pp. 70-75.

with presents to Manuha, the king of Thaton,[1] and requested from him certain sacred texts and relics. But Manuha refused.[2] Anuruddha became furious and attacked Thaton and conquered that country and brought the sacred relics, three Piṭakas and Buddhist monks to Pagan.[3]

The capture of Thaton in the Rāmañña country (Lower Burma) in the second half of the eleventh century AD by Anuruddh[4] was indeed a significant event not only in the history of Buddhism but in the social, political and literary history of Burma. With the help of Shin Arahan the king introduced Theravāda Buddhism and its language Pali from Thaton into Pagan in Upper Burma. He attempted to suppress all heretical sects in Burma and in course of time Theravāda Buddhism became the religion of the country. From this period onwards Pagan became famous as a centre of Theravāda Buddhism and under Anuruddha's patronage the religion, its literature and art flourished. "Anawrahta's (Anuruddha's) is a heroic and remarkable personality in the history of Burma. In a single lifetime he had established and spread a true religion throughout a large portion of his dominions, and suppressed all heretical sects and beliefs; from a chieftainship he raised his principality to the position of the most powerful political authority in Burma, and by introducing the Talaing culture of Lower Burma to civilise the north, he set the people of Marammadeśa (as distinct from Rāmaññadesa) on the road to culture and civilisation that made the annals of the Pagan dynasty a most glorious record in the history of mankind."[5] The conquest of Thaton was an important event in the cultural history of Pagan and it brought Ceylon and Burma into close contact with each other.[6] During Anuruddha's time Burma enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity and Pagan as a centre of Theravāda Buddhism reached the zenith of its splendour and popularity. While Buddhism had a very flourishing existence in Burma, the religion of the Buddha in Ceylon suffered severely due to political stress.

After his accession, Vijayabāhu I devoted his time to reform the

[1]*Sas*, p. 62. Manuha is also known as Manohari. [2]ibid, p. 62.
[3]ibid, p. 63; Taw Sein Ko, *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 151.
[4]ibid, XXII, 1893, p. 17. Thaton was anciently known as Sudhammapura or Sudhammanagara.
[5]*AISTBB*, p. 101. [6]*GPC*, p. 88.

Buddhist Saṅgha (Order) which had fallen into decay during the period of war and foreign rule. The Cūlavaṃsa says that at that time the number of ordained monks were so few in Ceylon that it was not possible for king Vijayabāhu I to convene a Chapter of five monks to re-establish the valid ordination.[1] He was determined to put an end to this state of affairs, and, in order to re-establish the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon and to secure a Chapter of five monks for the Ordination ceremony, he turned to Burma for help. Thus the religious reforms of the eleventh century AD drew Ceylon and Burma together. In 1071 AD Vijayabāhu I sent a religious mission to king Anuruddha in the Rāmañña country asking for Buddhist monks who had made a thorough study of the three piṭakas, who were a fount of moral discipline and other virtues and acknowledged as theras and also for Buddhist texts.[2] King Anuruddha made a great contribution to the growth and progress of Theravāda Buddhism and he successfully spread the fame of Burma as a centre of Theravāda Buddhism. Several inscriptions of Ceylon refer to the coming over of ordained monks from "Aramaṇa" or "Arumana",[3] to restore the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon. Arumaṇa (Sinhalese Aramaṇa) is another form of Pali word Rāmañña. It is identified with Rāmaññadesa or the District of Thaton in Lower Burma. But in the Cūlavaṃsa it has a more extended application. The Cūlavaṃsa in chapters LXXVI and LXXX refers to the king of Rāmañña as the king of Arimaddanapura or Pagan.[4] It is to be noted in the early centuries of the Christian era Rāmañña, or Lower Burma had the reputation of being a Buddhist country. Because of this Rāmañña, the famous centre of Theravāda Buddhism, was better known to the people of the island of Ceylon than North Burma and that is perhaps why there are frequent references to it in the Ceylonese chronicles. King Anuruddha gladly granted his friend's request and sent ordained monks and texts. The Sāsanavaṃsa and the Glace Place Chronicle refer to the religious contact between Ceylon and Burma at that time.[5] The Poḷonnaruva inscription of Vijayabāhu I and the Poḷonnaruva

[1]*CV*, LX, v. 4. [2]ibid, ch. LX., vv. 5-6.

[3]Inscription No. 40, *EZ*, II, lines 9-10, p. 252; inscription No. 38, *EI*, XVIII, 1925-26, p. 331.

[4]*CV*, ch. LXXVI, v. 38 and ch. LXXX, v. 6.

[5]*Sas*, p. 27; *GPC*, pp. 88ff.

Slab inscription of the Velaikkaras (circa 1137-1153 AD)[1] also refer to the purification of the Saṅgha of the three Nikāyas (Fraternities)[2] in Ceylon with the help of the monks from Arumaṇa during Vijayabāhu I's time. Anuruddha sent a sufficient number of ordained monks to Ceylon for the reformation of the Buddhist Saṅgha in the island. The Nikāyasaṅgrahava states that the king of Laṅkā Vijayabāhu I received twenty senior ordained monks and sacred texts from Anuruddha.[3] The Pūjāvaliya refers to the same story.[4] Thus with the help of the Buddhist monks from Rāmaññadesa the valid ordination was re-established in Ceylon and Buddhism, under the patronage of Vijayabāhu I, flourished again in Ceylon.[5]

King Anuruddha in return requested the king of Ceylon to give him the sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha which Ceylon proudly possessed.[6] The Glass Palace Chronicle says that at first Anuruddha wanted to take away the Tooth Relic by force from the king of Ceylon [7] But at last divine influence made him change his mind. He sent a religious mission to Ceylon with a request for the relic.[8] The chronicle also mentions that the king of Ceylon at that time was Dhātusena and who was known as Sirisaṅghabodhi[9] also. We know that Sirisaṅghabodhi was a title used by Vijayabāhu I and Parākramabāhu I.[10] But we do not know anything from any source that Vijayabāhu I was known as Dhātusena. We know that in the fifth century AD there was a king named Dhātusena. The king of Ceylon complied with his request and he is said to have sent a duplicate Tooth Relic to Burma. King Anuruddha was not satisfied with the copies of the Tipiṭaka brought from Sudhammapura or Thaton. Therefore he sent four monks to Ceylon to bring the copies of the Tipiṭaka to settle the reading.[11] The Sāsanavaṃsa refers to the four great warriors who went from Burma to the island.[12] Perhaps he sent a religious mission comprising of four great religious teachers whom the Sāsanavaṃsa refers to as the four great warriors. He

[1] *EI*, XVIII, 1925-26, p. 333; *EZ*, II, pp. 242-55.

[2] ibid, XVIII, p. 331, fn. No. 3: "The Three Nikāyas or Fraternities into which the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon was divided were Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri and Jetavana sects."

[3] *NKS* (Eng. Transl.), pp. xxxii and 19.

[4] *PV*, pp. 33-34.

[5] *CV*, ch. LX, v. 8.

[6] *GPC*, pp. 88ff.

[7] ibid, pp. 88ff.

[8] ibid, pp. 88ff.

[9] ibid, pp. 88-89.

[10] *CV*, ch. LIX, v. 10; *Sas*, pp. 30 and 44.

[11] ibid, p. 64.

[12] ibid, p. 64.

considered the Tipiṭaka of Ceylon more authentic than the Thaton collections and it indicates the importance and the strong influence of the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon, the citadel of orthodoxy in Burma. The Jinakālamālī[1] states that king Anuruddha having come to know that the Tipiṭaka of Ceylon was free from error, himself came to the island and copied the Tipiṭaka. After copying the Tipitaka and the Niruttipiṭaka,[2] he returned to Burma with the two Piṭakas and one jewelled image of the Buddha[3] in one ship and the other two Piṭakas in another ship. The ship carrying the two Piṭakas arrived in Arimaddanapura (or Pagan) but the other ship with the two Piṭakas and the jewelled image reached Mahānagara[4] having been driven by a storm. Having heard of this Anuruddha by his divine power went to Mahānagara and obtained the two Piṭakas from the king of that city and returned to Pagan. But he forgot to bring back the jewelled image.[5] The Burmese and the Sinhalese as well as the Kalyāṇī inscriptions do not make even a passing reference to Anuruddha's visit to either Ceylon or Cambodia. The account of the Jinakālamālī regarding this episode is of doubtful authenticity. Firstly, it is difficult to imagine that a ship bound for Burma would be driven to such a distant place as Angkor Thom (Mahānagara). According to the Jinakālamālī[6] king Dhammarāja reigned at Arimaddanapura (Pagan) 1200 years after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha[7] i.e., in 656 AD and after him his son. Anuruddha ascended the throne. So according to the Jinakālamālī, Anuruddha reigned in the seventh century AD. But according to the chronology of the kings of Burma Anuruddha reigned in the second half of the eleventh century AD. Therefore

[1]*BEFEO*, XXV, p. 54.

[2]ibid, p. 113; *TSGEC*, p. 143 fn. No. 2; The Piṭaka of Exegeses. Literally Basket of Etymologies.

[3]The jewelled image or the Emerald Buddha is said to have been made by Nāgasena, the teacher of Milinda, about five hundred years after the death of the Buddha and it contains seven relics of the Buddha. It was taken to Ceylon from India in about AD 256, and it remained there until Anuruddha came to Ceylon in search of correct copies of scriptures. About this time it came to Angkor in Cambodia: *BEFEO*, XXV, pp. 54-55.

[4]ibid, p. 113 fn. No. 2: Coedès identifies Mahānagara with Angkor Thom (in Cambodia).

[5]ibid, p. 55. [6]ibid, p. 54.

[7]The Buddhist era starts with 544-3 BC (*EZ*, VI, part I, 1955, p. 92). This has been calculated on this basis—1200 years—540 BC=656 AD.

owing to the confused nature of the story and the dates it is not possible to ascertain whether the facts relating to Anuruddha's reign as mentioned in the Jinakālamālī are very accurate. The miraculous element introduced by the author of this text to the account of Anuruddha's reign leads us to doubt the historical value of the whole story. If the story about Anuruddha's visit to the island of Ceylon and Mahānagara be historically true, this would have been considered to be an important event and would certainly have been mentioned in the Burmese and Ceylonese sources. The history of Buddhism is a major consideration in all these sources. It is rather strange they are all silent. The Sāsanavaṃsa mentions that when the religious missions reached Burma from Ceylon with the copies of the Tipiṭaka, Anuruddha with the help of his religious teacher Shin Arahan studied, examined and compared the copies brought from Ceylon with that of Thaton.[1] The sending of the copies of the Tipiṭaka from Ceylon to Burma and the purification of the Sinhalese Saṅgha with the help of the monks from Burma make it quite clear that religious intercourse became frequent between the two countries and was of mutual benefit under the patronage of Vijayabāhu I and Anuruddha in the eleventh century AD.

The period between the death of Vijayabāhu I and the ascendancy of Parākramabāhu I (AD 1153-1186) can be described as a dark chapter in the history of Ceylon. Immediately after the death of Vijayabāhu I internal troubles broke out and the kings of this period were weak and they remained busy in their petty personal politics. During this period neither the Burmese sources such as the Sāsanavaṃsa, the Glass Palace Chronicle nor the Ceylonese sources such as the Cūlavaṃsa mention any religious or political contact between Ceylon and Burma. Although both Ceylon and Burmese sources are silent on Burma's relation with Ceylon at this particular time it does not mean that there was no contact at all between the two countries. The Cūlavaṃsa while describing the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great states that the two countries had maintained intercourse for a long time.[2] It would seem that there was regular cultural and religious intercourse between the Buddhist Saṅgha of Burma and Ceylon even when Ceylon had been in a state of constant political turmoil. When Parākramabāhu

[1] *Sas*, p. 64. [2] *CV*, ch. LXXVI, vv. 10-14.

the Great ascended the throne, a period of prosperity and cultural progress followed and Ceylon established itself again as a centre of Theravāda Buddhism. He is regarded as one of the greatest kings of Ceylon and his reign is regarded as a glorious one for many reasons. He played an important role in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon and made a great contribution to Buddhism by unifying the Saṅgha. He gave his whole-hearted patronage to the restoration of Buddhism and the revival of culture. He restored Buddhism to its former purity, unity and glory.[1] He maintained friendly relations with the King of Burma. The Cūlavaṃsa mentions the friendly relations between Ceylon and Burma from earlier times up to the reign of Parākramabāhu I. But soon hostilities broke out between Burma and Ceylon in the reign of Parākramabāhu I. "Between the countries of Laṅkā and Rāmañña there had never been a dissension since they were inhabited by people who held the true faith. The rulers of the island of Laṅkā and the monarchs of Rāmañña were both in like manner true disciples of the Sugata (an epithet of the Buddha). Hence all former monarchs in both countries in deeply rooted trust, filled with friendly feeling were wont to send each other many costly gifts and in this way for a long time to maintain intercourse without dissension. Also with king Parākramabāhu the monarch of Rāmañña kept up friendly relations even as former rulers who had for a long time held firmly to him."[2] But in the reign of Parākramabāhu I, owing to political reasons, relations were strained between the two countries for sometime. In the reign of Alaungsithu (or Jayasura I or Cansu I)[3] (AD 1113-1165) of Burma a slanderer, who is mentioned as a Kala in the Glass Palace Chronicle and who acted as a Burmese envoy to the island, was responsible for hostile feelings between the two countries.[4] The Cūlavaṃsa refers to Ceylon's trade relations with Burma.[5] Parākramabāhu I's war with Burma seems to have been political and commercial.[6] There is evidence to show that inspite of political differences between the two countries during this particular period strong religious ties existed between them. The Cūlavaṃsa says that it was the mediation of the bhikkhus of Ceylon by which the war between Parākramabāhu I and the king

[1]*CV*, ch. LXXVIII, vv. 27. [2]ibid, ch. LXXVI, vv. 10-14.
[3]*TMSEA*, p. 114. [4]*CV*, ch. LXXVI, vv. 15-16; *GPC*, pp. 114 and 118.
[5]ibid, ch. LXXVI, vv. 17ff. [6]ibid, ch. LXXVI, vv. 14-68.

of Rāmañña was brought to an end.[1] It says that the people of Rāmañña being in despair after the victory of the army of Parākramabāhu I, in order to stop war and to establish peace, sent their messengers with letters to the bhikkhus of Laṅkā (Ceylon).[2] They are said to have requested the monks of Ceylon to bring about a peaceful settlement with Parākramabāhu I. The monks of Ceylon requested the king to bring a peaceful settlement with the Burmese king and through the friendly words of the Sinhalese Buddhist monks, the king of Ceylon was deeply moved and friendship was established again between the two kings. This fact shows that owing to political differences relations were strained between them at certain times but the long established religious ties between the Buddhist worlds of Burma and Ceylon still existed without any interruption.

After Alaungsithu's death, the two brothers Narathu (Narasura) and Minshinso fought against each other to occupy the throne of their father.[3] In the twelfth century AD Panthagu, son of Seinnyekinin and the successor of Shin Arahan visited Ceylon.[4] Coedès mentions that Panthagu after the early crimes of Narathu had left Pagan in 1167 AD and came to Ceylon.[5] Narathu occupied the throne by poisoning his brother Min-Shinso and this event made him very unpopular. Panthagu incurred the displeasure of the king and came to Ceylon in the second half of the twelfth century AD[6] and stayed there about six years and returned home only when Narapatisithu occupied the throne in 1173 AD[7] Buddhism in Ceylon was in a flourishing condition under the patronage of Parākramabāhu I and the visit of Panthagu indicates that close cultural and religious ties existed between Burma and Ceylon in the twelfth century AD A Burmese inscription[8] found at Mahabo monastery at Pagan refers to the dedication of lands to Panthagu Mahāthera by Pintala. It took place in the year 553 Sakkarāj=1191 AD. The inscription signifies that Panthagu was a prominent thera at Pagan. On his return from Ceylon Panthagu was treated

[1] *CV*, ch. LXXVI, p. 73. [2] *CV*, ch. LXXVI, v. 73.
[3] *HHB*, pp. 49-50. [4] *GPC*, p. 133. [5] *LEHII*, p. 298.
[6] *GPC*, p. 133. [7] *LEHII*, p. 298.
[8] *ASB*: A List of Inscriptions found in Burma, Part I (Rangoon, Superintendent Government Printing, Burma, 1921), Serial No. 468, volumes of Inscriptions A, 37-38.

as a primate but he was ninety years old at that time and he did not live much longer. He was succeeded in the Primateship by Uttarajīva, a Talaing monk and a pupil of Shin Ariyavaṃsa, the elder of Thaton.

The reign of Narapatisithu (AD 1173-1210)[1] is an important landmark in the history of Buddhism in Burma. During his rule, religious ties which existed between Burma and Ceylon were strengthened by Uttarajīva Mahāthera's visit to Ceylon. Uttarajīva Mahāthera, the preceptor of the king of Pugāma,[2] accompanied by Chapaṭa[3] and many other disciples of the Burmese Saṅgha came to Ceylon in the year 532 Sakkarāj i.e., AD 1170 or 1171 in order to worship at holy shrines.[4]

The details of Uttarajīva Mahāthera's visit and of the friendly religious ties that existed between the two countries are mentioned in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions of Dhammaceti of the fifteenth century AD.[5] During the reign of Parākramabāhu I every effort was made to restore Buddhism to its former glory and under his patronage Buddhism flourished. According to the Kalyāṇī inscriptions and the Sāsanavaṃsa, king Sirisaṅghabodhi Parākramabāhu purified the religion in Ceylon in the year 526 Sakkarāj or one thousand seven hundred and nine of the Conqueror's Wheel, i.e., in AD 1164.[6] He did it as soon as his war with Burma came to an end and probably the war was over by this time. The Kalyāṇī inscriptions say that Uttarajīva Mahāthera visited Ceylon in the year 532 Sakkarāj i.e., AD 1170 or 1171.[7] But Coedès states[8] that Uttarajīva Mahāthera came to the island with peace at the end of the war between Burma and Ceylon. He indicates that after the end of the war Uttarajīva Mahāthera visited Ceylon to settle the matter and to establish peace between the two countries. According to the Ceylon chronology, the war came to an end in AD 1164 and

[1] *TMSEA*, p. 115: He is also known as Jayasura II or Cansu II. According to the Sāsanavaṃsa, he is known as Narapati (*Sas*, p. 65).

[2] Pagan.

[3] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 29: Chapaṭa was a novice of about twenty years of age and was a pupil of Uttarajīva Mahāthera. He was called Chapaṭa sāmaṇera because his parents were natives of a village called Chapaṭa in Kusimaraṭṭha, the Bassein town in Lower Burma.

[4] ibid, p. 151.

[5] ibid, pp. 151-54.

[6] ibid, p. 151; for the Conqueror's Wheel, p. 88 fn. 7.

[7] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 151.

[8] *LEHII*, p. 299.

according to the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, Uttarajīva Mahāthera came to Ceylon in AD 1170 or 1171. So there is a gap of seven years between the two events. According to the Ceylon chronology, the war had already come to an end and peace was re-established between the two countries through the medium of the Buddhist monks of Ceylon. We cannot completely agree with Coedès, who synchronises the arrival of Uttarajīva Mahāthera with the peace at the end of the war with Burma.[1] The Sāsanaaaṃsa mentions that one thousand seven hundred and nine of the Conqueror's Wheel i.e. in AD 1164 Parākramabāhu I purified the religion and six years after that in the year 532 of the Kali age.[2] Uttarajīva Mahāthera became famous in the religion.[3] The reference to Uttarajīva Mahāthera's fame in the religion in the year 532 of the Kali age i.e. in AD 1170 is probably an indication of Uttarajīva Mahāthera's visit to Ceylon and his contact with the Sīnhaḷa Saṅgha. Therefore it shows that he went to Ceylon with Chapaṭa in AD 1170. The Kalyāṇī inscriptions refer to the same date.[4] According to the chronology of the Burmese kings, Narapatisithu ascended the throne of the Pagan kingdom in about AD 1173 or 1174.[5] Uttarajīva Mahāthera is said to have visited in the reign of Narapatisithu and he came to Ceylon after Panthagu's arrival in Pagan from Ceylon in the reign of Narapatisithu. Therefore it is difficult to say whether the Kalyāṇī inscriptions and the Sāsanavaṃsa contain very accurate dates regarding Uttarajīva Mahāthera's visit to Ceylon. After worshipping at the shrines Uttarajīva Mahāthera returned to Pagan.

Chapaṭa received the ordination in Ceylon and was admitted into the Sinhalese Saṅgha[6] and spent about ten years in the island. He acquired a full knowledge of the Tipiṭaka and their commentaries and earned the designation of Mahāthera. According to the Kalyāṇī inscriptions he returned to his country in the year 543 Sukkarāj i.e., in AD 1181.[7] Chapaṭa's ordination in Ceylon and his admission to the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha indicate that the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha was held in high esteem in Burma. Chapaṭa had a firm faith in Sinhalese orthodoxy and by establishing the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in

[1] *LEHII*, p. 299.
[2] This is the Burmese era of 638 AD and not the usual Kaliyuga era: S. Paranavitana, *JCBRAS*, XXXII, No. 85, p. 197.
[3] *Sas*, p. 39.
[4] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 151.
[5] *AHSEA*, p. 867; *HB*, p. 365.
[6] *GPC*, pp. 142-143.
[7] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 152.

Burma, he wanted to bring the Burmese Saṅgha in close touch with the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha. He regarded the existing Burmese ordination as not valid and did not like to perform the ecclesiastical acts with the monks of the Burmese Saṅgha and without a chapter of five monks it would be impossible for him to perform any ecclesiastical act separately. That is why he reached Pagan with four other monks who had been ordained at the hands of the monks of the Mahāvihāra.[1] Sīvali Mahāthera, a native of Tāmalitthi,[2] Tāmalinda Mahāthera, a son of the king of Cambodia, Ānanda Mahāthera of Kiñcipura or Conjeveram in South India and Rāhula Mahāthera of Ceylon went with him.[3] In the meantime, Uttarajīva Mahāthera had died and these five monks, who had received their ordination at the hands of the monks of the Mahāvihāra, refused to perform any ecclesiastical act with the Burmese monks of Pagan and declined to recognise the Burmese Saṅgha and they performed their ecclesiastical acts separately. This is the establishment of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha at Pagan. The king of Pagan at that time was Narapatisithu. After constructing a bridge of boats on the river Erāvati (Irrawaddy), the king requested the five Mahātheras to perform the upasampadā ordination on the Burmese monks who wanted to receive it at their hands and to join the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha.[4] Many monks who belonged to the Burmese Saṅgha gradually joined the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha. According to the Kalyāṇī inscriptions the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha was established at Pagan in the year 543 Sakkarāj i.e., in AD 1181.[5] Thus under the guidance of the five Mahātheras the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha maintained its influence and popularity at Pagan. Later on the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha was divided into several branches. The dissensions among the theras of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha were sometimes on questions of monastic discipline and at other times they were due to personal reasons. Rāhula Mahāthera, one of the five Mahātheras, fell in love with a dancing girl and decided to return to lay life. So in order to avoid a scandal his friends requested him to leave Burma and go to Malayadīpa.[6] The king of Malayadīpa was very interested in

[1] *Sas*, p. 40; *GPC*, pp. 143-144.

[2] Tamalitthi is probably Tamluk in Bengal.

[3] *IA*, 1893, p. 29; *GPC*, p. 143.

[4] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 30.

[5] ibid, p. 30.

[6] *IA*, XXIV, 1895, p. 301; Malayadīpa may be identified with the Malay Archipelago.

learning the Vinaya and he satisfied the king by his deep knowledge of the Vinaya. He later became a layman. After the death of Chapaṭa, the three Mahātheras Sīvali, Ānanda and Tāmalinda continued "to maintain the religion in splendour at Pugama."[1] But soon, dissensions arose on questions of monastic discipline among the three Mahātheras of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha. The king of Pagan, Narapatisithu always had great reverence for the three Mahātheras and he presented them with three elephants. Sīvali Mahāthera and Tāmalinda Mahāthera liberated the two elephants in a forest, but Ānanda Mahāthera instead of liberating the elephant in a forest wanted to present it to a relative. The two Mahātheras bitterly criticised the act of Ānanda Mahāthera. But the latter told them that 'kindness to kinsfolk'[2] was preached by the Buddha so he was not doing any wrong. But Sīvali and Tāmalinda Mahātheras refused to associate with Ānanda in the performance of ecclesiastical acts and performed such acts separately.[3] In course of time, a dispute arose between Sīvali Mahāthera and Tāmalinda Mahāthera on the question of monastic discipline. Tāmalinda Mahāthera had recommended his favourite disciples to the laity for gifts. This was against the Vinaya rules. These two Mahātheras performed their ecclesiastical acts separately[4] and founded two branches of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha at Pagan. Thus in Pagan during this period the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha was divided into three branches: (1) the disciples of Sīvali Mahāthera; (2) the disciples of Tāmalinda Mahāthera and (3) the disciples of Ānanda Mahāthera. Apart from the three schools of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha there was the school of Shin Arahan. Of these four schools, the school of Shin Arahan which was established first at Pagan from Sudhammapura or Thaton in the time of Anuruddha is called the Former School or Purimagaṇa.[5] The Sinhalese school which was established afterwards is called the Latter School or Pacchāgaṇa.[6] Although there were differences in the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha it still maintained its popularity in Burma.

Chapaṭa's visit to Ceylon, his admission into the Sinhalese Saṅgha, his arrival in Burma with four other monks from Ceylon and the establishment of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha at Pagan in the twelfth century AD are important religious events in the history of Buddhism in Burma and Ceylon. All these facts show that Ceylon played a significant role in the establishment, growth and

[1]ibid, XXII, p. 30. [2]ibid, p. 31. [3]ibid, p. 31.
[4]ibid, XXII, p. 31. [5]ibid, p. 31. [6]ibid, p. 31.

development of Sīhaḷa Buddhism in Burma in the twelfth century AD. It is very strange that Sinhalese sources do not make even a passing reference to these events which mark Ceylon's influence on the religion of Burma. Among the Burmese sources the Kalyāṇī inscriptions are the earliest datable records relating to this episode. There is a gap of about three centuries between this event and the date of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions. The tradition regarding Chapaṭa's visit to Ceylon and the establishment of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in Burma in the twelfth century AD would have been well known to the monks of Burma and we may accept the evidence of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions regarding this episode as historical.

According to the Cūlavaṃsa,[1] Vijayabāhu II (AD 1186-1187), the successor of Parākramabāhu I re-established friendly relations between Ceylon and Burma. He is said to have written with his own hand a letter in the Māgadhi language to the king of Arimaddanapura[2] and concluded a friendly treaty which was a cause of joy to the Buddhist monks of both Ceylon and Burma.[3] The language of the letter was Māgadhi or Pali and it was the medium of intercourse between the Buddhist countries during this period. The king who ruled Arimaddanapura in the reign of Vijayabāhu II was Narapatisithu. The Cūlavaṃsa mentions[4] that in Ceylon the religion of the Buddha was flourishing under royal patronage during this period. The Sāsanavaṃsa does not say anything regarding Burma's relations with Ceylon during the reign of Narapatisithu. But it refers to the purification of the religion in Ceylon in his reign. "………the religion having become stainless… …"[5] The author of the Cūlavaṃsa attempts to glorify Vijayabāhu II's role in the re-establishment of friendship between the two countries and we may assume that there was intercourse between these two countries during this period. There is also evidence to show that in the reign of Niśśaṁkamalla (AD 1189-1198) Burma and Ceylon came into close contact with each other. Two inscriptions belonging to the reign of Niśśaṁkamalla found at Poḷonnaruva mention that there were friendly relations between Ceylon and Aramaṇa.[6]

The reign of Narapatisithu witnessed the introduction of the

[1]*CV*, ch. LXXX, vv. 6-7. [2]ibid, ch. LXXX, vv. 6-7; *EZ*, II, p. 181.
[3]*CV*, ch. LXXX, vv. 6-8. [4]ibid, ch. LXXX, v. 8. [5]*Sas*, p. 44.
[6]*EZ*, II, p. 151, 155.

Sīhaḷa Saṅgha at Dala in Lower Burma. This was done under the leadership of Sāriputta, a native of Padippajeya, near Rangoon in the province of Dala. He had received his ordination at Pagan from Ānanda Mahāthera of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha.[1] The king after having conferred on him the title of Dhammavilāsa[2] thera, asked him to go to his native country, Rāmañña to purify the religion.[3] The same episode is referred to in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions.[4] The Sīhaḷapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha, the Sīhaḷa fraternity founded by Dhammavilāsa thera and the Ariyārahantapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha,[5]

[1]*IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 154; *Sas*, p. 41.

[2]Epigraphical and archaeological sources show that Dhammavilāsa was a prominent figure in the Buddhist Saṅgha at Pagan in the thirteenth century AD. A certain Dhammawilatha is referred to in a Burmese inscription discovered at Pagan and dated in Sakkarāj 573=AD 1211 (A list of inscriptions found in Burma, part I, Rangoon, Superintendent Government Printing, Burma, 1921, p. 26 Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma, I, 1900, volumes of inscriptions, 174-177). According to it, this thera made an offering of ornaments to a pagoda. It is possible that this Dhammawilatha thera is identical with Dhammavilāsa thera of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions and the Sāsanavaṃsa. As they both belonged roughly to the same period. Dhammavilāsa is the name of a Mahāthera mentioned as the donor of eleven stone Buddha images discovered in a village, about five miles south of Pagan (Maung Mya, Exploration in Burma, *ARASI*, 1930-34. p. 179). The inscriptions found on the pedestal of the images have been dated in the thirteenth or fourteenth century AD on palaeographical grounds. He too may be considered identical with Dhammavilāsa Mahāthera who belonged to the Sīhaḷapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha.

[3]*Sas*, p. 41.

[4]*GPC*, p. 154.

[5]The Ariyārahantapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha was afterwards known as Kambojāpanamahātherasaṅghapakkha, the fraternity of the Mahāthera of the Kamboja or Krom market. (The mon equivalent of the word Kamboja is krom). (The inscriptions of the Kalyāṇī Sīmā, Pegu, C.O. Blagden, *EB*, III, part II, p. 196 fn. 5). A learned Mahāthera belonging to the Ariyārahantapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha lived in a monastery which was situated near the mouth of a river in the Lakkhiyapura province in Lower Burma. Near this monastery was a market and not far from the latter there was a settlement of Kamboja prisoners of war. The market was therefore called the Kamboja market and the monastery was called the Kambojāpanavihāra. The Mahāthera of this monastery was known as the Paṭhama-Kambojāpanavihāra thera. (The first Mahāthera of the monastery of the Kamboja market). Later he came to be referred to as Kambojāpana Mahāthera. The Mahāthera of the Kamboja market was the oldest and most celebrated member of the Ariyārahantasaṅghapakkha in Dala, the whole of the fraternity was known as the Kambojāpanamahātherasaṅghapakkha. Later called it the Kambojāpanasaṅghapakkha. This was further abbreviated to Kambojāsaṅghapakkha. *IA*, XXII, 1893, pp. 32ff.

the fraternity of monks who were already in the country and who were the ecclesiastical successors of Soṇa Mahāthera and Uttara Mahāthera existed at Dala during this time. The royal patronage given to Dhammavilāsa thera for the establishment of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha at Dala and the purification of the Buddhist Saṅgha at Rāmañña is a further indication of the popularity of Sīhaḷa Buddhism in Burma during the latter part of the twelfth century AD and the beginning of the thirteenth century AD.

From the religious and cultural point of view, the reign of Narapatisithu marks the apogee of the Pagan dynasty. The king himself devoted his whole life to the progress of the religion. 'In order that men might follow the path and reach fruition in Nirvāṇa' he built several beautiful temples called the Gawdawpalin, the Sulamani, the Dammayazaka, the Mimalungkyaung and the Chaukpala and established the images of the Buddha in all of them. "He seccoured with the things needful scholars of the noble order learned in Pali, in the commentaries and sub-commentaries, who practised piety throughout all the homeland, and they gave instruction in the books."[1] The establishment of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in Burma and of Burma's contact with the Buddhist scholars in Ceylon gave an impetus to scholastic activities at Pagan. The Sāsanavaṃsa, the Gandhavaṃsa and the Sāsanavaṃsadīpa give an account of monastic scholarship at Pagan in the reign of Narapatisithu. There were several Buddhist scholars in Burma at this time. Among them Chapaṭa,[2] Saddhammasiri,[3] Aggapaṇḍita,[4] Subhūticandana,[5] Ñāṇasāgara,[6] Uttama,[7] Vimalabuddhi,[8] Uttara,[9] Dhammadassi,[10] and thera Abhaya[11] were the most important figures in the religious history of Burma. They made a great contribution to the development and the popularisation of scholastic activities in Burma. Chapaṭa who was also known as Saddhammajotipāla took keen interest in grammar, the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma. He wrote the Suttaniddesa, the Saṃkhepavaṇṇanā, the Vinayagulatthadīpanī, and the Simālaṁkāra. Saddhammasiri wrote the Saddatthabhedacintā, a grammatical work. Aggapaṇḍita was the

[1] *GPC*, p. 142; *AISTBB*, p. 111.
[2] *Sas*, p. 74; *Gv*, pp. 64, 74; *Svd*, vv. 1274-8.
[3] ibid, p. 75; ibid, pp. 62, 72.
[4] ibid, p. 74; ibid, pp. 64, 67.
[5] ibid, p. 63.
[6] ibid, p. 67.
[7] ibid, pp. 72, 73.
[8] ibid, pp. 63, 73; *Svd*, v. 1223.
[9] ibid, pp. 65-75.
[10] *Sas*, p. 75.
[11] *GV*, pp. 63, 73.

author of the Lokuppatti. Subhuticandana wrote the Liṅgatthavivaraṇa. Ñāṇasāgara and Uttama were the authors of the Liṅgatthavivaranappakāsaka and Lingatthavivaraṇaṭīka. Vimalabuddhi or Mahā-Vimalabuddhi, the Elder Vimalabuddhi the senior wrote the Nyāsa, a commentary on Kaccāyana's work. Dhammadassi wrote a grammatical treatise called the Vaccavācaka. Abhaya was the author of the Mahāṭīka, a commentary on the Saddatthabhedacintā of Saddhammasiri and the Sambandhacintāṭīka, a commentary on the Saṃbandhacintā of Saṅgharakkhita of Ceylon.

According to the Kalyāṇī inscriptions and the Sāsanavaṃsa, Buddhavaṃsa Mahāthera and Mahāsāmī Mahāthera more popularly known as Mahānāga[1] from Martaban in Lower Burma visited Ceylon and received reordination at the hands of the monks of the Mahāvihāra and thus they entered the order of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha. When they returned to Martaban they separated themselves from the monks of Martaban and performed ecclesiastical acts separately. In this way they established two branches of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha at Martaban.[2] The Burmese sources do not say anything about the cause of the separation between Buddhavaṃsa and Mahāsāmī Mahātheras. It is possible that two Mahātheras separated themselves from one another on problems regarding monastic discipline. According to the chronology of the Sāsanavaṃsa, they established two branches of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha at Martaban after the establishment of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha by Sāriputta or Dhammavilāsathera at Dala. Therefore it is probable that they visited Ceylon in the thirteenth century AD. According to the Kalyāṇī inscriptions;[3] there were six Buddhist schools in the city of Muttima or Martaban at this time: (1) the Kamboja or the Korm fraternity i.e. the Ariyārahanta fraternity, the members of this school were the spiritual successors of the missionaries sent by Aśoka to Suvaṇṇabhūmi; (2) the Sīhaḷasaṅghapakkha, whose members as already observed earlier, were the spiritual successors of Tāmalinda Mahāthera;[4] (3) the Sīhaḷasaṅghapakkha, whose members as already observed earlier, were the spiritual successors

[1] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 155; *Sas*, p. 42.
[2] ibid, XXII, 1893, p. 155; ibid, p. 42.
[3] ibid, XXII, 1893, p. 33; *EB*, III, part II, p. 199.
[4] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 30.

of Sīvali Mahāthera;[1] (4) the Sīhaḷasaṅghapakkha, whose members as already observed earlier, were the spiritual successors of Ānanda Mahāthera;[2] (5) and (6) two branches of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha were founded by Buddhavaṃsa Mahāthera and Mahāsāmī Mahāthera or Mahānāga.[3] The Burmese sources make no mention of the date of the establishment of the three branches of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha at Martaban: (1) the disciples of Sīvali Mahāthera; (2) the disciples of Tāmalinda Mahāthera and (3) the disciples of Ānanda Mahāthera. The reign of Narapatisithu as already observed witnessed vigorous religious activities in Burma. It is possible that under the patronage of Narapatisithu three branches of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha were established at Martaban.

The next reference to Burma's relations with Ceylon is in the Mānāvuḷu Sandesaya or Mahānāgakula Sandesaya,[4] a Pali fragmentary poem of Ceylon which may be dated in the thirteenth century AD. This date has been arrived at on the identification of Kassapa Saṅgharakkhita of Pagan and the minister Nāṇa of Pagan.[5] This poem was composed by Nāgasena Mahāthera of Mahānāgakula,[6] in the form of a reply to Kassapa Saṅgharakkhita. It is stated that the Burmese thera sent a letter[7] with a certain request to the thera Nāgasena through a minister called Nāṇa. What this request was, it is not known due to the fragmentary nature of the Mānāvulu Sandesaya. Saṅgharakkhita thera is described as an inmate of a monastery built by Siri Dhammarāja,[8] near Pagan.

There is evidence to show that Kassapa Mahāthera was the most

[1] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 30. [2] ibid, XXII, 1893, p. 30

[3] ibid, XXII, 1893, p. 33; *EB*, III, part II, p. 199.

[4] *JRASGBI*, 1905, p. 265. [5] pp. 101-102.

[6] A city of Rohaṇa in Southern Ceylon.

[7] "The missive leaf sent from your Reverence's feet, a leaf from the tree of virtue, which has been brought to me by the minister Nāṇa, is to me as the essence of all completeness. Seeing your most precious missive and bearing your message I became exceedingly overjoyed; the requests of esteemed persons induce delight." *JRASGBI*, 1905, p. 274.

[8] Siri Dhammarāja was not the personal name of any king of Burma. It was the title used by the Burmese kings of the 11th to 13th centuries AD and it is an abbreviated form of the Siri-tribhuvanāditya-pavara paṇḍit-dhammarāja (*TMSEA*, p. 114) As Saṅgharakkhita thera and the minister Nāṇa may be assigned to the first half of the thirteenth century AD, Siri Dhammarāja could be any one of the kings, Narapatisithu (AD 1173-1210), Natenmya (or Nautaungmya) (AD 1211-1234) and Kyaswa (AD 1234-1250).

prominent figure of the Buddhist Saṅgha of Pagan in the thirteenth century AD. At Siri-Paccaya (Thiripitsaya) near Pagan, a group of monastic buildings bearing the name of Shin-Katthaba (Kassapa Mahāthera) were found[1] and probably this Mahāthera was associated with these buildings.

Epigraphic evidence which supports the identification of Kassapa Mahāthera is not lacking. Several inscriptions belonging to the thirteenth century AD found in Burma refer to Kassapa Mahāthera. An Inscription[2] in both Burmese and Pali dated AD 1209 found at Shwezigon pagoda records the dedication of lands to the monk Mahākassapa by Narapatisithu. An inscription[3] in the Burmese language dated Sakkarāj 580=AD 1218 found at Myinmu at Sagaing district in Northern Burma refers to the dedication of lands to the monk Mahākatthapa by Mingyi Uzana. An inscription[4] in the Burmese language found at Hngetpyittaung at Pagan records the building of a monastery and dedication of lands to the resident monks of the monastery by the monk Mahākatthapa. An inscription[5] in the Burmese language dated AD 1237 has been found within the group of Shin Katthapa monasteries in Ledaunggan at Pagan. It records the dedication of lands to the 'Doctrine' and to Mahākatthapa by a person who was the husband of Thaye A. Pwa Ham. An inscription[6] found at Pagan refers to the establishment of another monastery in AD 1237 and the offering of services of slaves in the presence of Mahākassapa and Dhammasiri Subhuti. An inscription[7] dated AD 1242 found at Pagan refers to a gift of land to a monastery of Mahāthera Kassapa. An inscription[8] discovered within the group of Shin Katthapa monastic buildings at Ledaunggan at Pagan relates that in AD 1244 Min Hla built a monastery for the residence of Kassapa Mahāthera and gave an estate for its maintenance. An inscription[9] dated AD 1246 has been found within the group of Shin Katthapa monastic buildings in Ledaunggan at Pagan. It refers to the dedication of lands to the

[1] *JRASGBI*, p. 266.
[2] A list of inscriptions found in Burma, part I, p. 51.
[3] ibid, p. 116. [4] ibid, Serial no. 239. [5] ibid, p. 42.
[6] Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava (Rangoon, 1892, III, no. 6), p. 101.
[7] Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava (Rangoon, 892, IV, no. 3), p. 117 and VII, no. 16, p. 184.
[8] ibid, X, no. 15, p. 243.
[9] A list of inscriptions found in Burma, part I, 1921, p. 42.

clergy and also the purchase of lands by Uzana and others. All these facts affirm that Shin Katthapa was a leading Mahāthera in the thirteenth century AD and was honoured by kings, ministers as well as commoners.

Two inscriptions[1] in the Burmese language dated AD 1236 and 1237 respectively have been found at Shinbinbodhi pagoda at Pagan and the name of the founder is given as the minister Nāṇa Pisi or Ñyāna Pisi. The inscriptions relate the construction of a pagoda and monastery in AD 1236 and the painting of frescoes inside the pagoda depicting 550 Jātakas. They also record the dedication of slaves and land to the same pagoda and a monastery and the presentations of rewards to artists and masons. Kassapa Mahāthera and a Burmese minister Nāṇa referred to in the Mānāvulu Sandesaya are probably identical with Mahākatthapa thera and the minister Nāṇa Pisi of the Burmese inscriptions of the thirteenth century AD. Thus the Mānāvulu Sandesaya too is adequate testimony to the close cultural and religious ties between Burma and Ceylon in the thirteenth century AD.

The last quarter of the thirteenth century AD witnessed the downfall of Pagan. Kublai Khan, the Mongol leader after conquering Yunnan sent envoys to Narathihapate (AD 1256-87), the king of Pagan, to demand the payment of tribute.[2] Kublai Khan claimed that Burma had been a dependency of the Yunnan kingdom. But the Pagan king refused to pay anything. Then a second embassy came from Kublai Khan in AD 1273.[3] But the envoys were put to death by the Burmese army.[4] Afterwards the Mongol army invaded Pagan and captured it in AD 1287.[5] At the time of the downfall of Pagan the Talaing provinces under Tarabya, the Governor of Pegu with the help of Warreru, a Shan adventurer, overthrew the Burmese kingdom in Lower Burma.[6] At the same time Northern Arakan declared its independence.[7] After the fall of Pagan, the Shans of Northern Burma became prominent there. Athin Kaya, Yazathinkyan and Thihathu,[8] sons of a Shan chief divided Upper Burma into three divisions and became rulers of the three divisions. Under the patronage of the Shan rulers Buddhism flourished in Upper Burma.[9] While Upper Burma was divided

[1]A list of inscriptions found in Burma, p. 38. [2]*AHSEA*, p 146.
[3]ibid, p. 146. [4]ibid, p. 146; *TMSEA*, p. 129. [5]ibid, p. 147; ibid, p. 130.
[6]ibid, p. 146, 155; ibid, p. 181. [7]ibid, p. 146.
[8]ibid, p. 147; *HB*, p. 157; *HHB*, pp. 75-76. [9]*Sas*, pp. 82-84.

politically, Waruru after murdering Tarabya made himself master of Lower Burma and, Martaban was his capital.[1] Afterwards Pegu became the capital of Lower Burma and became an important centre of Buddhist activities. The rulers of Lower Burma like the rulers of the Pagan kingdom encouraged the cultural and religious intercourse between Burma and Ceylon and also encouraged the development of the Sinhalese form of Buddhism in Burma.

The next reference to Burma's relations with Ceylon in the Sāsanavaṃsa is in the reign of Setibhinda of Burma.[2] The Elder named Medhaṃkara of the town of Muttima or Martaban in Lower Burma and the preceptor of the king's mother visited Ceylon.[3] He had studied the sacred texts there and had received reordination at the hands of the great Elders of the Araññavāsī fraternity in Ceylon. The king's mother had built a monastery for him at Martaban and after his return from Ceylon he lived there and played an important role in developing the religion. The Sāsanavaṃsa[4] mentions that the king was Setibhinda. According to the chronology of the kings of Burma, the king who ruled during this period was Binya U or Bing-U (AD 1353-85)[5] the son of Binnya E Law. He took the title of Hsin-hpyn-shin or Hsengphynsheng, in Pali Setibhinda, the possessor of a white elephant.[6] Therefore Setibhinda of the Sāsanavaṃsa and Binnya U are definitely one and the same person. The reign of Binnya U witnessed Burma's war with Nabbisipura (o r Xieng Mai) and Ayuthia in Siam.[7] Owing to Siam's frequent invasions, Binnya U was forced to transfer his capital from Martaban to Pegu in AD 1369.[8] But even during this turbulent period his reign marked Burma's cultural connections with Ceylon and scholastic activities in Burma.[9]

The fifteenth century AD witnessed vigorous religious activities in Lower Burma. The records of this period show that the rulers of the Mon kingdom were patrons of Buddhism. The statements in the Jinakālamālī, the Sāsanavaṃsa and the Kalyāṇī inscriptions indicate that at this time close religious ties existed between the Buddhist Saṅghas of Burma and Ceylon.

The reign of Parākramabāhu VI (AD 1412-1468) of Kotte in

[1] *AHSEA*, p. 155; *HB*, p. 65.
[2] *Sas*, p. 42.
[3] ibid, p. 42.
[4] ibid, p. 42.
[5] *AHSEA*, p. 870.
[6] *PLB*, p. 35 fn. 2; *HB*, pp. 67-68.
[7] *AHSEA*, p. 156.
[8] ibid, p. 156.
[9] *Sas*, p. 48; *Gv*, p. 74; *Svd*, v. 1250.

Ceylon is an important epoch in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon. He was a zealous Buddhist and his efforts were largely responsible for the development of Buddhism and the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon at this time. He erected a shrine and a college for monks in the Pappaṭa Grove and named it the Sunetrā Devī Pariveṇa[1] after his mother. Under his patronage the Tipiṭaka with Aṭṭhakathā and ṭīkā were inscribed and he granted villages to the scribes who were daily engaged in the work.[2] Several educational institutions were established at this time. These were—the Padmāvatī Pariveṇa at Karagala under the presidency of Rājaguru Vanaratana Saṅgharāja, the Āranayaka at Paḷābatgaḷa, the Vijayabāhu Parivema at Totagamuva under Śrī Rāhula, the Irugalkula Pariveṇa at Mulgirigala and Śrī Gaṇānanda Pariveṇa at Rayigama under the great Elder Maittreya Mahāthera of the Maha Netra Vihāra.[3] Vanaratana Mahāsāmī was the Saṅgharaja of Parākramabāhu VI,[4] who patronised the Buddhist scholars and religious institutions during this period. His reign witnessed regular religious intercourse with neighbouring Buddhist countries in South-East Asia. Probably because of the flourishing condition of Buddhism and of the existence of several well-organised educational and religious institutions in Ceylon Buddhist monks from foreign countries visited Ceylon to study under the able guidance of the Buddhist scholars in Ceylon.

The Jinakālamālī[5] refers to the arrival of six Mon monks from the Rāmañña country in Ceylon 1967 years after the death of the Buddha i.e. in AD 1423. The king of Ceylon about this time was Parākramabāhu VI of Jayavardhanapura (Kotte) (AD 1412-68). The king of Haṃsāvatī or Pegu (i.e. the Rāmañña country) was Binnya Dammayaza (AD 1423-26), the son of Razadarit or Rājādhirāja (AD 1385-1423). During the reign of Razadarit the kingdom of Pegu was engaged in war with Ava in Northern Burma, Nabbisipura in Northern Siam, Kampheng Phet in Central Siam and Ayuthia in Southern Siam.[6] It is possible that during this period of political disruption the religion was at its lowest ebb. Buddhism suffered in Burma at this time. At the end of the wars and with the accession of Binnya Dammayaza to the throne of Pegu, the religious mission

[1] *Cv*, ch. XCI, v. 24. Not far from Colombo. [2] ibid, ch. XCI, v. 28.
[3] *PLC*, p. 248. [4] ibid, p. 248. [5] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 50.
[6] *AHSEA*, p. 156; *TMSEA*, p. 182.

from the Rāmañña country visited Ceylon to get the assistance from the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon. They studied the sacred texts thoroughly and also learnt the correct manner of recital of the sacred texts from the Buddhist monks in Ceylon. They received their education at Yāpāpaṭṭana in Kalyāṇī in AD 1424, in the presence of a Chapter consisting of twenty Mahātheras of Ceylon.[1] Vanaratana Mahāsāmī and Dhammācariya acted as Kammavācācariya and upajjhāya respectively.[2] The Ceylon and Burmese chronicles and inscriptions do not make any reference to this joint mission to Ceylon. This ommission although strange need not throw doubt on the authenticity of the whole story relating to this mission as contained in the Jinakālamālī. This chronicle records that this Burmese mission came to Ceylon with the Siamese mission. The visit of the Siamese monks to Ceylon is an important and significant event in the history of Buddhism in Siam. Because after receiving the upasampadā ordination at the hands of the Sinhalese Mahāthera, they returned to their country accompanied by the Sinhalese monks and they introduced the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha to Northern and Southern Siam in the fifteenth century AD. The Jinakālamālī refers to this Burmese mission in connection with the Siamese mission. It is a book of the history of Buddhism in Siam and the author of this book records the more important incidents relating to the history of Buddhism in that land. Therefore it is quite certain that this account of the Jinakālamālī regarding the arrival of the Mon monks in Ceylon has some historical value though there is no reference to it in the Burmese sources.

The Sāsanavaṃsa[3] refers to the visit of two Sinhalese theras Sirisaddhammālaṃkāra and Sīhaḷamahāsāmī to Burma in the fifteenth century AD. According to it, they first landed at Kusima[4] in Southern Burma in the year seven hundred and ninety one of the Kali age i.e. in AD 1429 and they brought with them five relics of the Buddha. But Byaññāran,[5] the king of the Rāmañña country did not allow them to settle there but asked them to go to the city of Sirikhetta (Prome).[6] It is difficult to explain about Byaññāran's unsympathetic attitude towards these two Sinhalese monks.

[1] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 50. [2] ibid, XXV, p. 50. [3] *Sas*, p. 90.
[4] ibid, p. 90. Kusima or Kusumiya in Ramanna is modern Bassein.
[5] *HB*, pp. 81ff. Byaññāran is known as Binya Rankit also.
[6] *Sas*, p. 91.

According to the Jinakālamālī, six Mon monks from the Rāmañña country came to Ceylon in AD 1423, but according to the Sāsanavaṃsa, two Sinhalese theras arrived in Burma in AD 1429. There is only a gap of six years between the two events. Therefore we may not be wrong in concluding that there is some connection between these two events. The Jinakālamālī[1] states that after the upasampadā ceremony at Yāpāpaṭṭana in Ceylon the Siamese monks returned to their country with two Sinhalese monks. But it makes no mention of the return of the Burmese monks to Burma with the Sinhalese monks. In the first half of the fifteenth century AD. Burma was engaged in a war with Siam. Owing to the political situation the relations were strained between the two countries. Probably this explains why we do not find any detailed account regarding the visit of the Mon monks to Ceylon and their arrival in Burma in the Jinakālamālī. When Byaññāram asked two Sinhalese monks to go to Prome, the king of Ratanapura (Ava), on hearing of it, at once sent forty boats to bring them and he received them with great honour.[2] Under his patronage they settled there and helped to popularise the religion. The Sāsanavaṃsa relates[3] that when the two theras came to Ava, the king of this region was Mriḥñaṇaḥ or Mriññāṇa who occupied the throne in AD 1426 or 1427. According to the chronology of the kings of Burma, Mohnyintha or Mohnyinthado[4] reigned in Ava from AD 1427 to 1440. Probably he is referred to in the Sāsanavaṃsa as Mriḥ-ñaṇaḥ.

According to the Sāsanavaṃsa,[5] Mahāsāmīthera, the preceptor of king Mahā Narapati or Narapati (AD 1443-69) of Ava, visited Ceylon and studied under Sāriputta thera of Ceylon. It is difficult to identify Sāriputta thera with any known thera in Ceylon in the fifteenth century AD.

Sevasuvaṇṇasobhaṇa,[6] a prominent thera from the town of Martaban visited Ceylon. According to the Sāsanavaṃsa,[7] he came after Medhaṃkara thera. The letter came to Ceylon in the last quarter of the fourteenth century AD. Probably Sevasuvaṇṇasobhaṇa visited Ceylon in the second half of the fifteenth century AD. In the Kalyāṇī inscriptions[8] there is a reference to Suvaṇṇasobhaṇa. It is probable that Sevasuvaṇṇasobhaṇa was Suvaṇṇasobhaṇa of the

[1] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 50. [2] *Sas*, p. 91.
[3] ibid, pp. 94-95. [4] *AHSEA*, p. 152; *HB*, p. 285. [5] *Sas*, p. 95.
[6] ibid, p. 42. [7] ibid, p. 42. [8] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 239.

Kalyāṇī inscriptions. When the Burmese monks sent by king Dhammaceti returned to Burma from Ceylon after receiving the upasampadā ordination from the monks of the Mahāvihāra within the consecrated boundaries of the Kalyāṇī river, near Colombo,[1] Sevasuvaṇṇasobhaṇa played an important role in the history of Buddhism in Burma during this period. He acted as Upajjhāya in the upasampadā ceremony in the Kalyāṇīsīmā[2] in Burma. Before appointing him as upajjhāya king Dhammaceti asked him "when you visited Sīhaḷa, in which sīmā were you ordained and what was the strength of the Chapter that ordained you."[3] The Mahāthera told the king that twenty-six years have elapsed since he received the upasampadā ordination in Ceylon.[4] Dhammaceti's religious mission visited Ceylon in AD 1476. Sevasuvaṇṇasobhaṇa probably came to the island of Ceylon in the middle of the fifteenth century AD. The king of Pegu at this time was Binnayakan (AD 1450-1453).[5] Sevasuvaṇṇasobhaṇa studied the sacred texts in Ceylon and received his ordination at the hands of a chapter composed of more than five monks.[6] Vanaratana Mahāthera, the head of the Saṅgha, and Rāhulabhadda, the preceptor of the king of Ceylon, acted as upajjhāya and kammavācācariya respectively. The king of Ceylon was Parākramabāhu VI of Kotte. The Udakukkhepasīmā was arranged on this occasion on the great lake in Colombo. After his ordination he returned to Martaban from Ceylon and established the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha there. The Sāsanavaṃsa mentions[7] that Medhamkara and Sevasuvaṇṇasobhaṇa introduced the religion from Ceylon to Lower Burma for the fifth time. The Ceylon chronicles do not deal with the visit of Sevasuvaṇṇasobhaṇa to Ceylon. But both the Sāsanavaṃsa and the Kalyāṇī inscriptions refer to him. From Burmese sources we know that Vanaratana Mahāthera or Mahāsāmī, the head of the Saṅgha and Rāhulabhadda, the preceptor of the king of Ceylon acted as upajjhāya and kammavācācariya respectively at the ordination ceremony of Sevasuvaṇṇasobhaṇa at Colombo. Vanaratana Mahāsāmī was the Saṅgharāja of Ceylon in the reign of

[1] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 239.

[2] *PLB*, p. 7 fn 1. The enclosure within which ceremonies such as ordination can be properly performed. The observance of these bounds is very strict and a ceremony carried out in a place unfitted for consecrations is not valid.

[3] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 239.

[4] ibid, p. 239.

[5] *AHSEA*, p. 156.

[6] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 239.

[7] *Sas*, p. 42.

Parākramabāhu VI. The Hamsasandesa refers to him as Saṅgharāja Vanaratana of Karagala Pariveṇa.[1] There were several ecclesiastical colleges in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI. Among them the Padmāvatī Pariveṇa at Karagala was under the presidency of Rājaguru Vanaratana Saṅgharāja and Vijayabāhu Pariveṇa at Totagamuwa was under Śrī Rāhula Saṅgharāja. The Jinakālamālī also refers to Vanaratana Saṅgharāja. The statements in Ceylon sources and the Jinakālamālī show that these two Mahātheras were leading figures in the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon. Therefore both Ceylon, Burmese and Siamese sources would help to confirm the statement relating to Sevasuvaṇṇasobhaṇa in the Sāsanavaṃsa.

The reign of Dhammaceti[2] marked a new religious revival in Burma. The Jinakālamālī, the Sāsanavaṃsa and the Kalyāṇī inscriptions as already observed[3] refer to the visit of several religious missions to Ceylon from Pegu and Ava as well as the visit of Sīnhaḷa monks to Ava in the fifteenth century AD. King Dhammaceti's immediate predecessors, the rulers of Pegu of the fifteenth century AD were devout Buddhists and contributed to the development of Sinhalese form of Buddhism there. Burma for several centuries was in trouble due to political stress and the religion of the Buddha seems to have suffered much during this period. It was this deplorable state of the religion that sent the

[1] *Hs*, vv. 183-187.

[2] Dhammaceti was a monk before he became the king of Pegu. "Dhammaceti was an ordinary monk, evidently residing in one of the monasteries of Ava, when he together with another monk helped Shin Sawbu, the daughter of Razadarit of Pegu, to take to flight from Ava where she had been taken as one of the queens of Mohyinthado (1427-1440). This lady, first married to Thihathu (1422-1426), was later made over to the lord of Pagan during the upheavals that followed Thihathu's death. When she was taken as the queen of Mohnyinthado, she had already become disgusted with this sort of life as well as with Upper Burma, and was therefore thinking of getting out of the royal palace. She took the help of two Talaing monks who had taught her letters, and managed to escape to Pegu. One of these monks came later on to be known as Dhammaceti. Shin Sawbu eventually became queen of Pegu (1453-1472) and when she had ruled for several years she wanted to retire, and retire in favour of one of the two monks—— Dhammaceti left the sacred Order, received Shin Sawbu's daughter in marriage and assumed the government." *AISTBB*, pp. 182-183.

[3] pp. 104-108.

Burmese Buddhist monks to Ceylon to get help from the Sinhalese monks in order to revive Buddhism. Owing to these religious conditions in Burma we hear of Burma's frequent religious intercourse with Ceylon at this time. When Dhammaceti ascended the throne of Pegu, he found that Buddhist practices were neglected and the Saṅgha in Burma was split into dissentient sects. As already observed there were six Buddhist schools at Martaban,[1] and two schools at Dala.[2] Gradually dissensions arose among the theras of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha sometimes on questions of certain monastic rules, and at other times on personal grounds and, owing to these causes, they performed ecclesiastical acts separately. In this way more and more branches arose in the religious history of Burma. In all these sects there was not a single qualified monk to perform ecclesiastical acts according to the Vimaya rules. Dhammaceti wished to reform the Buddhist Saṅgha and to unify the Saṅgha into one sect. During this period a controversy arose as to the correct procedure for the consecration of a sīmā and the valid conferment of the upasampadā ordination. Each school gave its own interpretation regarding the performance of ecclesiastical acts and each one performed ecclesiastical acts in its own way. Dhammaceti had some doubts regarding the validity of the upasampadā ordination of the Burmese monks. For this reason, he asked all the leading theras in Burma, well-versed in the Tipiṭaka, regarding the valid manner of consecrating a sīmā and the valid upasampadā ordination. The validity of ecclesiastical acts depends on a duly consecrated sīmā and without it all acts are considered invalid. After consulting the theras and after earnest study of authoritative texts he felt that the valid upasampadā ordination did not exist in Burma during this time. He believed that the religion would be purified through the establishment of the valid form of the upasampadā ordination. Dhammaceti had firm faith in Sinhalese orthodoxy and he believed that monks of Ceylon performed ecclesiastical acts according to the rules of the Vinaya. So Dhammaceti, in order to receive the valid form of the upasampadā ordination at the hands of the monks of the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon and to re-establish it in Burma and to arrange a consecrated sīmā for the performance of religious acts in Burma, sent a religious mission, composed of twenty-two theras

[1] pp. 99-100. [2] pp. 96-100.

and twenty-two others who are designated as novices or pupils, to Ceylon.[1] The eleven theras, the same number of novices took one ship. The leader of the monks was Moggallāna thera. The remaining eleven theras and the same number of novices took the other ship. The leader of the theras was Mahāsīvali thera. The Sāsanavaṃsa refers to the name of the leader as Soma thera.[2] On the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Phagguna in Sakkarāj 837 i.e. on 23rd February 1476, the first ship arrived in Colombo and another ship arrived a few days later i.e. on Sunday, the ninth day of the light half of the month of Caitra i.e. on 3rd March 1476 at Valligāma or Weligāma owing to bad weather.[3] Dhammaceti sent many valuable presents with this religious mission to Ceylon. Along with the presents he sent two letters, one addressed to the Mahātheras of Ceylon, and the other one inscribed on a golden tablet addressed to the king of Ceylon. The king of Ceylon during this period was Bhuvanekabāhu VI and his capital was then to Kotte. The subject-matter of the two letters was the same.

"Reverend Sirs, for the purpose of adoring the Holy Tooth and other Relics I have sent theras with offerings. Vouchsafe to afford them assistance in making such offerings. With the 22 theras and their novices, I have sent Citradūta and Rāmadūta together with their attendants. Vouchsafe, Venerable Ones, to afford them such assistance as they may require in seeing and adoring the Holy Tooth Relic, and making offerings to it. After seeing and adoring the Holy Tooth Relic, and making offerings to it, the 22 theras and others, who are designated as novices will receive from a Chapter of monks, who are the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahāvihāra monastery and who are free from censure and reproach, the upasampadā ordination in the Udakukkhepasīmā consecrated on the Kalyāṇī river, where the Blessed One had himself bathed. May it please the Venerable Ones to afford them assistance also in this matter."[4]

[1] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 208.
[2] *Sas*, p. 44.
[3] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 209.
[4] ibid, 1893, p. 41.

King Dhammaceti sent many gifts to the Holy Tooth Relic.[1] He also sent many gifts to the Ratana Cetiya and other shrines, to the Holy Foot-print and to the 22 Bodhi trees,[2] to the Mahātheras of Sīhaḷadīpa[3] and Bhuvanekabāhu VI, king of Sīhaḷadīpa.[4]

The king of Ceylon offered betel together with camphor to the Burmese Buddhist monks and gave them a friendly welcome. The arrival of this religious mission in Ceylon in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI drew Burma and Ceylon closely together. During this period the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha had played an important role in the history of Buddhism in Burma. With the help of the king of Ceylon and of the Sinhalese monks Burma was able to re-establish the pure form of the religion and to unify the Saṅgha and to make the Mahāvihāra sect the only sect in Burma.

[1] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 40: "A stone alms-bowl, studded with sapphires of great value and a pyramidal covering made of gold weighing 50 phalas; an alms-bowl, with stand and cover complete, made of gold weighing 60 phalas; a golden vase weighing 30 phalas, a duodecagonal betel-box made of gold weighing 30 phalas; a golden relic receptacle weighing 30 phalas, and constructed in the shape of a cetiya; a relic receptacle made of crystal; a relic receptacle, embellished with pieces of glass resembling masargalla gems; and golden flowers."

[2] ibid, p. 40: "85 canopies of various colours; 50 large gilt, waxen candles; and the same number of small, gilt, waxen candles."

[3] ibid, p. 41: "40 boxes containing cotton cloth of delicate texture; 20 silk and cotton upper robes of various colours, namely, red, yellow, white; 20 betel-boxes of motley colour, manufactured in Haribhuñjaya, four stone pitchers; 8 painted pitchers manufactured in China; and 20 fans manufactured in China."

It shows that there were trade relations between Haripuñjaya in Northern Siam and Pegu in the fifteenth century AD. The king who ruled Haripuñjaya at this time was Tiloka. From the records of the Jinakālamālī, we may assume that close religious ties existed between the Buddhist Saṅghas of Burma and Siam.

[4] ibid, p. 41: "Two sapphires valued at 200 phalas of silver; 2 rubies valued at 430 phalas; 4 pieces of variegated China cloth, of great value, for making long mantles, which would cover the wearer from neck to foot; 3 pieces of thick embroidered China cloth, of white and dark blue or ash colour; 2 pieces of plain, thick, China cloth, of white and dark blue or ash colour; one piece of plain, white, thick China cloth; 2 pieces of green, thick, embroidered China cloth; one piece of plain, green, thick China cloth; 2 pieces of plain, black, China cloth; one piece of yellow, thick, embroidered China cloth; one piece of red, thin, embroidered China cloth of delicate texture; one piece of thin, embroidered China cloth of delicate texture, and of white and dark blue or ash colour: in all, 20 pieces of China cloth; the same number of variegated silk cloths called pavitti and 200 mats wrapped in leather cases."

According to the advice of the king of Ceylon the twenty-four prominent and well-ordained monks such as Dhammakitti Mahāthera, Vanaratana Mahāthera, Pañcapariveṇavāsīmaṅgala thera and Sīhaḷarājajuvarājacariyathera[1] formed a Chapter under the leadership of Mahāthera Vidāgama and the Burmese monks received the Sinhalese form of the upasampadā ordination from these monks within a consecrated boundary on the Kalyāṇī river, near Colombo. It took four days to confer the upasampadā ordination on all the forty-four theras from Burma from July 17 to 20, 1476 AD.[2] The names of the twenty-two monks who took their ordination at the hands of the monks of the Mahāvihāra were: Moggalāna, Kumārakassapa, Mahāsīvali, Sāriputta, Ñāṇasāgara, Sumana, Kassapa, Nanda, Rahula, Buddhavamsa, Sumaṇgala, Khujjānanda, Sonuttara, Gunasāgara, Dhammarakkhita, Cūḷasumaṇgala, Javanapañña, Cūḷakassapa, Cūlasīvali, Maṇisāra, Dhammarājika and Candanasāra.[3] On the first day, the five theras namely Moggalānathera, Kumārakassapathera, Mahāsīvalithera, Sāriputtathera and Ñāṇsāgarathera were ordained in the presence of twenty-four monks. Dhammakitti Mahāthera and Pañcapariveṇavāsīmaṇgalathera acted as upajjhāya and ācariya respectively. On the next day, ten theras, namely Sumanathera, Kassapathera, Nandathera, Rāhulathera, Buddhavaṃsathera, Sumaṇgalathera, Khujjanandathera, Sonuttarathera, Guṇasāgarathera and Dhammarakkhitathera were ordained. Vanaratana Mahāthera and Pañcapariveṇavāsīmaṇgalathera acted as upajjhāya and ācariya respectively. On the third day, seven theras namely Cūḷasumaṇgalathera, Javanapaññāthera, Cūḷakassapathera, Cūḷasīvalithera, Manisārathera, Dhammarājikathera and Candanasārathera were ordained. Vanaratana Mahāthera and Pañcapariveṇavāsīmaṇgalathera acted as upajjhāya and ācariya respectively. On the fourth day, twenty-two young monks who were the disciples of the theras were ordained. Pañcapariveṇavāsīmaṇgalathera and Sīhaḷarājajuvarājacariyathera acted as the upajjhāya and ācariya respectively.

After the ordination of the Burmese monks, the king of Ceylon also conferred titles on each one of them. The king gave the following titles: Sirisaṅghabodhisāmī, Kittisirimeghasāmī. Parākkamabāhusāmī, Buddhaghosasāmī, Sīhaḷadīpavisuddhasāmī,

[1] *IA*. XXII, p. 210.
[2] *EB*, III, part II, p. 232 fn. 1-5.
[3] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 210.

Gunaratanadharasāmī, Jinālaṇkārasāmī, Ratanamālisāmī, Suddhammatejasāmī, Dhammārāmasāmī, Bhuvanekabāhusāmī, Sirivanaratanasāmī, Maṇgalatherasāmī, Kalyāṇītissasāmī, Candanagirisāmī, Siridantadhātusāmī, Vanavāsitissasāmī, Ratanalaṇkārasāmī, Mahādevasāmī, Udumbaragirisāmī, Cūḷabhayatissasāmī and Tilokagurusāmī.[1] The king conferred titles on the theras only but he did not give any new title to the twenty-two novices who came with the theras. The king after the ordination of the Burmese monks invited them to a meal and presented each of them with many gifts.[2]

The first party reached home safely. The second party suffered shipwreck and reached South India. The envoy of the king of Ceylon returned home and at last the second party arrived in Burma. After their arrival at Pegu from Ceylon, they were received with great honour by the king and under royal patronage, a sīmā was established near Pegu. The learned Elder Suvaṇṇasobhaṇa,[3] on the request of the king, acted as the upajjhāya when the Burmese monks received the upasampadā ordination at the new sīmā near Pegu at the hands of the newly ordained monks who had returned from Ceylon. The newly established sīmā of Dhammaceti is known to the Buddhist world as Kalyāṇī sīmā.[4] Dhammaceti gave it the name Kalyāṇī after the name of the Kalyāṇī river in Ceylon, where the Burmese monks received the Sinhalese form of the upasampadā ordination. The main object in establishing the Kalyāṇī sīmā in Burma was to arrange a duly consecrated place for the performance of the upasampadā, uposatha and other religious ceremonies and establish direct contact with the Mahāvihāra fraternity in Ceylon. Under royal patronage the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha was established in Burma. The total number of the Burmese monks who received the Sinhalese form of the upasampadā ordination during AD 1476-1479, was 15,666.[5] Among them were about 800 leading Buddhist monks (gaṇācariya), 14,265 young monks of Gāmavāsī and Araññavāsī fraternities and 601 newly ordained sāmaṇeras. The total number of newly ordained monks in the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha clearly signifies its importance and popularity in Burma. The newly ordained Burmese monks

[1] ibid XXII, p. 211.

[2] ibid, p. 44: "Three yellow robes; a curtain and a canopy manufactured in the country of Gocharati; a leathern mat painted in variegated colours, a fan-shaped like a palmyra-fan, but made of ivory and a betel-box."

[3] pp. 106ff. [4] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 238. [5] ibid, p. 242.

after returning from Ceylon re-established the valid form of the upasampadā ordination throughout Burma and thus brought about the unification of the Saṅgha and the revival of the religion in Burma.

King Dhammaceti reformed the Buddhist Saṅgha and brought the different sects together under one ecclesiastical authority through one standard and absolute upasampadā ordination. Thus under his patronage the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha became very popular throughout the country. He occupied an important place in Burmese history not only as an able to statesman but also as one who made a great contribution to the establishment of Buddhism there. Every effort was made to restore Buddhism to its former glory and long standing differences between different sects were settled and the Saṅgha purified. Thus the second half of the fifteenth century is a great epoch in the history of Buddhism in Burma. But the Sinhalese chronicles do not say anything of this Burmese mission to Ceylon. King Bhuvanekabāhu VI of Ceylon and the Sīhaḷa monks made a great contribution to the purification of the Buddhist Saṅgha in Burma and the establishment and development of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in Burma. The silence of the Ceylon chronicles regarding missions concerning Buddhism in foreign countries is understandable. They mention events that benefitted Ceylon only. Others were of such common occurrence that the chronicles did not think them worthwhile recording.

The early sixteenth century marked the arrival of the Portuguese in Ceylon.[1] At this time three kingdoms existed in Ceylon, Kotte, Kandy[2] and Jaffna. Among them Kotte was the most important one. After their arrival in Ceylon, the Portuguese first came into contact with the ruler of the kingdom of Kotte. The king of Kotte was Vira Parākramabāhu VIII.[3] After him Dharma Parākramabāhu IX and Vijayabāhu VI reigned in Kotte. In AD 1521 this kingdom was divided among the sons of Vijayabāhu VII (AD 1509-1521). His three sons were Bhuvanekabāhu, Māyādunne and Madduma Baṇḍāra.[4] Bhuvanekabāhu VII received the capital

[1] *PRC*, p. 8.

[2] ibid, p. 12 fn. 3: "The full name of the kingdom of Kandy was Kaṇḍa Udarata i.e. the country of the hills. The Portuguese shortened it to Candeā, using that name for both the kingdom and the capital Seṇkaḍagalanuwara."

[3] *UCHC*, I, part II, p. 683. [4] *PRC*, p. 9.

city of Kotte and he ruled there. Māyādunne received Sītāwaka and Madduma Baṇḍāra reigned in Rayigama. But the latter died shortly after his accession to the throne. Bhuvanekabāhu, in order to maintain his position against the expansionist policy of his brother Māyādunne received help from the Portuguese. Māyādunne made a pact with the ruler of Calicut, who was engaged in war with the Portuguese.

Bhuvanekabāhu had no son. His successor was his grandson, the son of his daughter Samudradevī.[1] The name of his grandson was Maha Baṇḍāra. But he is better known as Dharmapāla (AD 1551-1597) in Ceylon history.[2]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the political history of Burma shows that Burma was divided into three main divisions.[3] The northern frontier was ruled by Shan-Thai tribesmen. Ava was ruled by the descendants of the Shan princes. These Shan princes played an important role in Upper Burma until the rise of the Toungoo dynasty in the middle third of the sixteenth century. Lower Burma was ruled by the Mon rulers. In AD 1527 Shan-Thai tribesmen attacked and destroyed Ava and, as a result, many Burmese settled at Toungoo in south-east Burma.[4] King Tabinshweti (AD 1531-51),[5] the son of Minkyinyo, was the king of Toungoo. He captured the Mon capital of Pegu in AD 1539. At that time Takayutpi (AD 1526-1539), the grandson of Dhammaceti (AD 1472-1492), was reigning there. Tabinshweti in AD 1541 took Martaban, then Moulmein and in AD 1542, captured Prome.[6] In 1544 AD the whole of Central Burma was under his control and he had crowned himself at Pagan as the king of Upper Burma. His second coronation as the ruler of a united Burma took place in AD 1546 at Pegu.[7] The next king of this dynasty was his brother-in-law, Bayin Naung (1551-1581).[8] His dominion extended over the whole of Burma and the Shan states as far as Nabbisipura and Ayuthia in

[1] *CPE*. pp. 84-85.
[2] *PRC*, p. 11. [3] *TBLC*, p. 66; *TMSEA*, p. 182. [4] ibid, p. 67.
[5] Tabinshweti is also known as Mintara Shweti: *TSS*, V, p. 7.
[6] *TMSFA*, p. 183. [7] ibid, p. 183.
[8] *AHSEA*, p. 143; *TSS*, V, p. 121: King Kyawdin Nawrata bore the title of Siri Taribhavanāditya Pavara Paṇḍita Sudhammarāja Mahādhipati. At the age of 19 the title of Kyawdin Nawrata was then conferred on him. Three years later the title of Bayin Naung (elder brother of the king) was added to his former title."

Siam.[1] Under his patronage Buddhism flourished. In AD 1564, he is said to have sent a mission to king Don Juan Dharmapāla of Kotte who was then living in Colombo.[2] Dharmapāla has converted to Christianity in AD 1557 and after his conversion he took the name of Don Juan Dharmapāla. The Cūlavaṃsa does not mention anything about him. Possibly its author neglected this ruler for his insignificant role in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon and his conversion to Christianity. King Bayin Naung in order to marry a princess of the Ceylon royal blood, sent ambassadors with many costly gifts to Don Juan Dharmapāla for the purpose of obtaining a princess.[3] But the king of Kotte was childless. Having consulted his chief minister[4] he felt that Ceylon could be greatly benefitted by this marriage and trade relations could be established between the two countries. So he sent a daughter of his minister[5] as his own daughter to the king of Pegu. Many Burmese monks came to Ceylon with the Burmese ambassadors.[6] They visited Śrī Pāda. The Ceylonese minister made a tooth from the tine of a stag just like the genuine one and he told the Peguan ambassadors and monks that Dharmapāla was the possessor of the Tooth Relic. The minister showed them this relic with great secrecy and the Burmese envoys requested Dharmapāla and his minister to send the relic to the king of Pegu.[7] They further told the king that the king of Pegu would send him a million of gold and annually a ship laden with rice and other provisions. This pact was made with great secrecy between the Peguan ambassadors and Dharmapāla and his minister. Andrea Bayao Modeliar or Moodliar as ambassador from the king of Kotte came to Pegu with the princess. Afterwards the king of Pegu realised that she was not the daughter of the king of Kotte. But the king, because of the relic, ignored the deception as to the parentage of his wife and he sent a mission in AD 1566 to the king of Kotte for the relic and this mission returned to Pegu with it.[8] This party

[1]*TMSEA*, p. 184.

[2]*JCBRAS*, XX, p. 244: The Portuguese source does not refer to the name of the king of Pegu but refers to the Brama, king of Pegu. According to the chronology of the kings of Pegu, Bayin, Naung reigned in Pegu at the time of Dharmapāla.

[3]ibid, XX, p. 244. [4]Grand Chamberlain. [5]Grand Chamberain.

[6]ibid, XX, pp. 244-245. [7]ibid, XX, p. 246.

[8]ibid, XX, pp. 249-250.

reached Cosmi,[1] a port of Pegu and was received with great honour by the king and his nobles.

The king of Kandy, however, knew Dharmapāla's contact with the Peguan king and he also knew that the latter had sent valuable presents to king Dharmapāla. The king of Kandy despatched ambassadors[2] to the court of Pegu to narrate that the princess was not the daughter of the king of Kotte and the Tooth Relic was not the genuine one. He through his ambassadors told the Peguan king that he wanted to give his daughter in marriage to the king of Pegu and informed him that he was the possessor of the genuine Tooth Relic.[3] The king of Pegu received the ambassadors from Kandy with honour and sent two ships laden with rice and costly stuffs both for the king of Kotte and Kandy.[4] According to the chronology of the kings of Kandy, Karalliyadde Baṇḍāra was the ruler of Kandy during this period.[5] He seems to have ruled from AD 1565 to AD 1582.

No Ceylon source deals with this Burmese mission to Ceylon. The Burmese source the Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi mentions that king Dharmapāla of Ceylon on Monday the 3rd of the waning second wazo 938 AD 1576 sent the Tooth Relic in one ship and many presents in another ship to the king of Pegu.[6] In return he sought the help of the king of Pegu to fight the three independent kings who were ruling in Ceylon at that time. The kings of Pegu sent five ships with a force of 2500 men to king Dharmapāla and with the help of this force, Dharmapāla defeated them and they accepted Buddhism and agreed to support it for its development.[7] According to the Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi, Dharmapāla was a

[1]Modern Bassein.

[2]*JCBRAS*, XX, pp. 251-252. [3]ibid, p. 252. [4]ibid, p. 252.

[5]The Rājāvaliya (p. 82) refers to him as Karalliyadde Kumara Baṇḍāra. The Cūlavaṃsa refers to him as Kumara Baṇḍāra (*CV*, ch. XCII, p. 219-220, Transl. p. 219 fn. 1). According to the Portuguese writers (*JCBRAS*, XX, p. 133), he was Caralea Baṇḍār or Pandur. The father of Karalliyadde was Jayavira Baṇḍāra (*RV*, p. 82; A Chronological Table of Ceylon Kings, *EZ*, III, p. 44). Kandy Natha Devale inscription dated AD 1541 or 1542 refers to the ruling monarch named Śrī Jayavira Mahā Vada-Vuntana (*CLR*, II, 1932, p. 291). Karalliyadde ascended the throne of Kandy in AD 1565 and was converted to Christianity and was named Don Joao (*JCBRAS*, XX, pp. 233-234). He was known by Maha Astana also (*TSCC*, p. 74).

[6]*TSSJ*, V, pp. 109-110. [7]ibid, p. 109.

zealous Buddhist and the three other rulers were against Buddhism. There is, however, ample evidence which shows that Buddhism suffered under Dharmapāla.[1] A possible explanation may be suggested for this contradictory evidence. The political and religious history of Burma shows that Bayin Naung played an important role in the establishment and development of Buddhism not only in his own land but also in regions conquered by him and in neighbouring countries as well. Hearing of Bayin Naung's contribution to Buddhism, Dharmapāla probably felt that he and his followers could be greatly benefitted by this religious appeal and his mission would meet with success. The date of the compilation of the Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi, a history of Burma, was in the year 1191 Burmese era i.e. AD 1829,[2] and this event took place in the second half of the sixteenth century. Therefore it is very difficult to say whether the facts relating to this episode are very accurate.

The Portuguese source referred to earlier[3] states that the king of Kandy claimed that he was the possessor of the genuine Tooth Relic. But at this time the relic was at Sītāwaka. The Buddhist monks of Sītāwaka had kept it in great secrecy. The relic is said to have kept hidden in the Labujagāma vihāra at Delgamuwa, close at Kuruwita in Sabaragamuwa[4] in the kingdom of Sītāwaka during the closing years of Rājasinha's reign.[5] When Vimaladhamma Suriya I (AD 1592-1604) had erected a temple for the relic, he took it to Kandy from there.[6] So the confused nature of the records regarding Dharmapāla's dealing with the Burmese king and his concern for Buddhism, the Tooth Relic episode, the king of Kandy's claim as the possessor of the genuine relic and the omission of this account in Ceylon sources throws a great deal of doubt on the historical value of the statements of the Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi and the Portuguese source.

The Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi[7] and the Sāsanavamsa[8] refer to Burma's political and cultural connections with Siam in the sixteenth century. Bayin Naung played a significant role in the development of Buddhism in Siam during its political occupation

[1] *PRC*, pp. 206-207.
[2] *TSSJ*, V, p. 3.
[3] p. 117.
[4] *CV*, ch. XCIV, v. 11, translation p. 228 fn. 1.
[5] *PRC*, p. 16.
[6] *CV*, ch, XCIV, vv. 11-14.
[7] *TSSJ*, V, pp. 19, 30 and 51.
[8] *Sas*, p. 51.

by him. The Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi mentions that the king of Burma in AD 1557 sent learned Buddhist monks from Pegu with copies of the Tipiṭaka to Nabbisipura which he occupied in AD 1555.[1] He had spent money for the construction of religious monuments at Ayuthia which he occupied in February 1564.[2] He lost control of this region due to trouble created by Mahin, the son of king Maha Chakrapat of Ayuthia (AD 1549-1564), who was installed as a vassal ruler with a Burmese garrison to control him and Bayin Naung regained it in August 1569. It was under his control until his death in AD 1581. The Burmese chronicle states[3] that in AD 1564 or 1565 he entrusted the new king with hundred ticals of silver for the repair of old pagodas, monasteries etc. and under his patronage the ordination ceremony was held at Ayuthia. He invited one hundred Buddhist monks and gave them food and clothes. The new king of Ayuthia mentioned above is probably Mahim, the son of Maha Chakrapat, who was installed as a vassal ruler of Bayin Naung after the latter's occupation of Ayuthia in February 1564.[4] The old king of Siam, who was staying at Hamsāvatī[5] in AD 1569, entered the Saṅgha as a monk with the permission of king Bayin Naung. This old king was Maha Chakrapat or Chakrap'at who ascended the throne of Ayuthia in AD 1549.[6] Towards the close of AD 1540 Bayin Naung sent several copies of the Tipiṭaka and the commentaries written by the Burmese Buddhist monks, to Ayuthia, Pitsanulok in Siam, Tenasserim, Tavoy, Pagan and Toungoo in Burma.[7] He also sent a copy of the Tipiṭaka together with the commentaries to Ceylon.[8] The Sāsanavamsa states that in the year 943 of the Kali age i.e. AD 1581, Anekasetibhinda, the possessor of many white elephants,[9] was the king of Hamsāvatī, and he after conquering the Yonoka country,[10] placed his eldest son as the viceroy of that country. The

[1] *TSSJ*, V, p. 19; *TBLC*, p. 67.
[2] ibid, V, p. 30; ibid, p. 67; *AHSEA*, p. 245. [3] ibid, V, p. 30.
[4] *AHSEA*, pp. 245-246, [5] Pegu. [6] *AHSEA*, p. 886.
[7] *TSSJ*, V, p. 120. [8] ibid, p. 120. [9] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 184 fn. 5.
[10] *Sas*, p. 49: Ānācak Yonok usually Northern Siam. According to the Sāsanavaṃsa, Haribhuñjaya (Haripuñjaya), Kambuja, Khemavara, Ayuddha (Ayuthia) with the cities of Sokkataya (Sukhodaya in Siam) and Kapunna are included in the Yonaka country.

G. Coedes (*BEFEO*, XXV, p. 183 fn. 2) states that Kamboja designated here as Cambodge (Cambodia), Khemavara the Shan states (Xieng Tung), Ayuthia and Haripuñjaya are included in the Yonaka country.

king of Hamsāvatī during this time was Bayin Naung.[1] It therefore seems to be clear that Anekasetibhinda of the Sāsanavaṃsa and Bayin Naung are one and the same person. The Sāsanavaṃsa also mentions that king Anekasetibhinda sent the Elder Saddhammacakkasāmī with prince Anuruddha to the conquered country for the purification of the religion. It is difficult to identify Saddhammacakkasāmī with any thera of Burma of the sixteenth century AD.

From the thirteenth century onwards Siam had a fair amount of cultural intercourse directly and indirectly with Ceylon and the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha had a dominant role in Siam after the establishment of cultural relations between the two countries. When Bayin Naung attacked Siam, the latter was under the influence of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha. The Sāsanavaṃsa refers to the purification of the religion of the conquered country by Bayin Naung.[2] It is probable that during its war with Burma, the religion had suffered there and that is why Bayin Naung after his expedition against Siam had reason to purify the Saṅgha there. The reign of Bayin Naung is important from a religious and cultural point of view. The visit of the Burmese monks from Pegu to Nabbisipura, the reconstruction of old Pagodas and monasteries at Ayuthia, the performance of the ordination ceremony at Ayuthia under the patronage of Bayin Naung, the offering of food and clothes to the Siamese monks by Bayin Naung, the sending of copies of the Tipiṭaka together with their commentaries to neighbouring Buddhist countries such as Ceylon, ordaining of an ex-king of Siam as a monk in the Burmese Saṅgha at Pegu and the purification of the religion of the Yonaka country by the Burmese Buddhist monks show that in the middle of the sixteenth century. Burma played a leading role in the history of Buddhism in South and South-east Asia.

The sixteenth century witnessed the rise and fall of the Toungoo dynasty in Burma. Under Bayin Naung (AD 1551-1581) Burma was politically uuited. But after his death his immediate successor devoted much of his time to external politics and practically neglected his internal affairs. So when Bayin Naung died his empire plunged into a state of chaos. Nanda Bayin (AD 1581-1599)

[1] *AHSEA*, p. 869. G. Coedes (*BEFEO*, XXV, p. 184 fn. 5) mentions that Anekasetibhinda is Buren Naung or Branginoco. Bureng Naung or Branginoco and Bayin Naung are one and the same person.

[2] *Sas*, p. 51.

ruled the country during the state of disintegration. He, like his father Bayin Naung, engaged himself in war with Siam. He wanted to raise and equip new armies to fight against the Siamese and asked the Mons to join the army.[1] Many Mons took the yellow robe and became monks. But the king disrobed them. Many went to Arakan and Siam.[2] He attacked Siam about five times between AD 1586 and 1593, and in one expedition the Burmese heir-apparent, the son of Nanda Bayin, was killed.[3] Because of his failure against the Siamese, he put to death many of his officers and slew the community of the Talaing monks. Many Talaing monks and laymen left the country and fled to Siam and Arakan.[4] The Siamese attacked Pegu in AD 1595.[5] At this time a quarrel broke out among the brothers of Nanda Bayin who were governors of Prome, Toungoo and Ava and they did not support him against the Siamese threat.[6] Taking the opportunity of the unsettled political condition of the country the Arakanese with the help of the governor of Toungoo captured Syriam, one of the important ports of Lower Burma and Pegu.[7] King Naresuen or Nareshvara (AD 1590-1605) of Ayuthia who was the son of Maha T'ammarāja or Dhammarāja attacked Pegu.[8] But before his arrival the kings of Toungoo and Arakan destroyed Pegu and Nanda Bayin was taken as prisoner to Toungoo and was executed there.[9] Lower Burma from Martaban southwards came under the control of Siam and Burma was divided into a number of small states. So, depopulated by famine and disturbed by war with foreign countries and also by internal conflict, Pegu, which once played an important role in the establishment and development of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma in the reign of Dhammaceti in the fifteenth century and Bayin Naung in the sixteenth century, had lost its position as a centre of Theravāda Buddhism by the end of the sixteenth century. In the reign of Vimaladhamma Suriya I[10] when Ceylon was in need of

1 *AHSEA*, p. 251.
2 ibid, p. 252.
3 ibid, p. 252.
4 *HHB*, p. 180; *TSSJ*, V, p. 139.
5 *AHSEA*, p. 253,
6 ibid, p. 253; *TMSEA*, p. 185.
7 ibid, p. 254.
8 ibid, pp. 254 and 887; *TMSEA*, pp. 184-185.
9 ibid, p. 254.
10 "Konnappu Baṇḍāra was the son of Virasundara Baṇḍāra, a nobleman from Peradeniya. Virasundara had led to revolt against Rājasinha and was killed by treachery on Rājasinha's instigation. Konnappu thereupon fled to the Portuguese at Colombo. He was banished to Goa for some offence committed

some monks to restore the Buddhist Saṅgha, the king sent a mission to Rakkhaṅgapura.[1] Many Burmese Buddhist monks in the reign of Nanda Bayin out of fear and frustration fled to either Arakan or Siam. Buddhism in Burma received a set-back in the reign of Nanda Bayin. So this explains why the king of Ceylon, instead of sending a religious mission to Pegu, sent one to Rakkhaṅgapura or Arakan and invited Nandicakka. Probably Nandicakka was one of the leading theras and was a well-known figure during this period and his fame even reached Ceylon. Probably Ceylon had close connections with the Buddhist centres in Arakan.

The Cūlavaṃsa and the Sāsanavaṃsa contain important evidence relating to the religious intercourse between Burma and Ceylon in the reign of Vimaladhamma Suriya I.[2] Before this king, Rājasinha, the son and successor of Māyādunne, was the ruler in the island in the middle of the sixteenth century. The king became a worshipper of Śiva.[3] The Cūlavaṃsa states that Rājasinha I once asked the elder theras, "How can I undo the crime of my father's murder?'[4] They told him, "To undo the committed crime is impossible."[5] He became very angry and became a follower of Śaivism. The conversion of Rājasinha I to Śaivism from Buddhism was followed by a severe persecution of the Buddhist monks. The Cūlavaṃsa refers to it.[6] "He annihilated the Order of the Victor, slew the community of bhikkhus, burned the sacred books, destroyed the monasteries . . . He placed miscreant ascetics of false faith on the Sumana Kūṭa to take for themselves all the profit accruing therefrom . . . At that time through fear of the king, bhikkhus left the order . . ."[7] In the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Buddhism was decaying in Ceylon. Both the chronicles the

while at Colombo. At Goa, he acquired a reputation for skill in the use of arms and was known as Dom Joao. He was sent to Kandy with the Portuguese force and became commander-in-chief of the Sinhalese forces after the accession of Yamasinha Baṇḍāra." (*PRC*, p. 13 fn. 24). Yamasinha Baṇḍāra. the nephew of Karalliyadde, was the king of Kandy and he died soon after. Konnappu Baṇḍāra taking this opportunity, seized power and drove out the Portuguese and established himself on the throne of Kandy under the name of Vimaladhamma Suriya I (AD 1592-1604). (*PRC*, p. 13).

[1]Arakan in Lower Burma.
[2]*CV*, ch. XCIV, vv. 6-7; *Sas*, p. 27.
[3]ibid, ch. XCIII, v. 10.
[4]ibid, ch. XCIII, v. 6.
[5]ibid, ch. XCIII, v. 8.
[6]ibid, ch. XCIII, vv. 10-12.
[7]ibid, ch. XCIV, v. 14.

Cūlavaṃsa and the Sāsanavaṃsa refer to the arrival of the Sinhalese envoys in Rakkhaṅgapura[1] and the restoration of the Buddhist Saṅgha and the re-establishment of the religion in the island by the monks of Rakkhaṅgapura.[2] The Sandesakathā refers to the above contact.[3] In Ceylon, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century the number of the ordained monks had decreased so much that it was not possible for Vimaladhamma Suriya I to find five monks to form a Chapter for properly constituted acts of the Saṅgha. So the decay of the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon necessitated the importation of monks from neighbouring Buddhist countries. Determined to purify and to strengthen the religion and to restore the Saṅgha, the king sent ministers to the Rakkhaṅga country. The king of Ceylon invited Nandicakka and other theras to come and settle in the island of Ceylon.[4] When they arrived they were received with great honour. Under the leadership of Nandicakka, the upasampadā ordination was held in the Udakukkhepasīmā on the Mahāvalukagaṇgā (or the Mahavali Gaṇgā) at Getambe near Peradeniya in AD 1596.[5] Several members of the royal family and noble families were ordained. Thus with the help of the Buddhist monks from the Rakkhaṅga country, the upasampadā ordination was restored in Ceylon.

An ola leaf manuscript[6] in connection with the above mentioned religious intercourse has been discovered and it relates that Buddhism in Ceylon was crumpled under the weight of the hostile attitude of Rājasinha I towards Buddhism. This document has been found at the Kaḍadora Vihāra which is situated in Gannave koraḷe of Uḍahevāhaṭa in the district of Nuvara Eliya in the Central Province. The donor of the grant the Elder Guṇālankāra Dharmakirti Bhuvanekabā refers to the repairs of the Kaḍadora Vihāra after the demise of king Vimaladhamma Suriya II (AD 1687-1707). This grant was donated sometime after 1707 AD. It probably belongs to the middle of the eighteenth century. This ola leaf manuscript relates that under the supervision of the Buddhist monks of the Rakkhaṇga country, the upasampadā ceremony was held in Ceylon and two theras Candavilāsa and

[1] *CV*, XCIV, vv. 15-16; *Sas*, p. 27.
[2] ibid, ch. XCIV, vv. 15-16.
[3] *JPTS*, 1885, p. 19.
[4] *CV*, ch. XCIV, vv. 15-16.
[5] ibid, ch. XCIV, p. 17.
[6] *JCBRAS*, II, New Series, p. 154.

Nandicakka acted as their ācariya and upajjhāya respectively.[1] But the Cūlavaṃsa does not make any reference to Candavilāsa. It refers to Nandicakka only.[2] The Suḷupūjāvaliya mentions the name of these two theras. The Cūlavaṃsa, Suḷupūjāvaliya and the Narendracaritāvalokapradipikāva state that this upasampadā ceremony was held 2140 years after the death of the Buddha i.e. in AD, 1597.[3] But this ola leaf manuscript says that it was held in the beginning of the seventeenth century AD.[4] However, this cannot be considered as a serious discrepancy. Thus there is sufficient evidence to show that a strong religious bond existed between the two countries during the sixteenth century AD.

Senarat occupied the throne of Kandy after Vimaladhamma Suriya I. He was a great patron of Buddhism. The Portuguese attacked Kandy in his reign. He was succeeded by his son Rājasinha II (AD 1634-1687). He was a great warrior. He with the help of the Dutch drove out the Portuguese from Ceylon in AD 1658.[5] Thus ended the rule of the Portuguese in the maritime provinces of Ceylon. After expelling the Portuguese the Dutch occupied the Portuguese regions in Ceylon and kept them under their control for 138 years. The Dutch got the full rights of the cinnamon trade from the king of Ceylon and made a flourishing business there. They were more human than the Portuguese and showed their friendly attitude towards the people of Ceylon. During their rule the Sinhalese Kings and their people were able to engage themselves in religious works. They devoted their time to the cause of Buddhism and performed many meritorious acts.

After Rājasinha II his son Vimaladhamma Suriya II (AD 1687-1706) ascended the throne of Kandy. He was an upholder of the religion. He built a three-storeyed pavilion for the Tooth Relic. In Ceylon the seventeenth century witnessed the restoration of the Buddhist Saṅgha by the monks of the Rakkhaṇga country.[6] The maritime districts of Ceylon were under the rule of the Portuguese and later the Dutch. As a result of foreign rule Buddhism and its practices had suffered in Ceylon. He sent an embassy to Rakkhaṅgapura to obtain monks from that country for an

[1] *JCBRAS*. p. 154; *JCBRAS*, III, New Series, p. 74. [2] *CV*, ch. XCIV, p. 15.
[3] ibid, ch. XCIV, v. 18; *Spv*, p. 23; *Ncp*, p. 137.
[4] *JCBRAS*, III, New Series, p. 74. [5] *AHSC*, p. 4
[6] *CV*, ch. XCVII, vv. 10-13.

ordination ceremony. At his request ten monks from Rakkhaṅgapura came to Ceylon. With their help an ordination ceremony was held at Getambe near Kandy. Thirty-three novices received their upasampadā ordination at the hands of the Buddhist monks from Rakkhaṅgapura and another one hundred and twenty persons were given permission to join the Saṅgha at this ceremony. As a result of the religious mission sent to Rakkhaṅgapura, the upasampadā ordination was received in Ceylon for the second time.[1]

Sri Viraparākrama Narendrasinha (AD 1706-1739), a son of Vimaladhamma Suriya II, became the king of Kandy after his father. He finds a place in the religious history of Ceylon for his patronage of Buddhism. He built a two-storeyed building for the Tooth Relic. Under his inspiration many Buddhist laity joined the Saṅgha. Saranankara, an important figure in the history of Buddhism, requested king Narendrasinha to send an embassy to Siam to bring Buddhist monks to Ceylon. But the king did not take any interest in this matter and he died after sometime. Saranankara did a good job for the progress of Buddhism. He was a mine of virtue and was well-versed in the sacred texts.

The next ruler was Sri Vijaya Rājasinha (AD 1739-1747). He was a devout Buddhist. Many young persons entered the Saṅgha in his reign. The king took keen interest in the scholarly works of the monks. Scholastic activities were revived in the reign. He spent money for writing religious books and constructed many preaching halls at different places of his kingdom. His reign witnessed religious ties between Ceylon and Siam.

Sri Vijaya Rājasinha was succeeded by Kirti Śrī Rajasinha (AD 1748-1778). The king's main task was the restoration and the purification of the Buddhist Saṅgha. For this purpose he at the request of Saranankara sent an embassy to king Bromokot of Siam for Buddhist monks who were well-versed in the Dhamma and the Vinaya.[2] The Buddhist monks came from Siam and the king purified the Saṅgha and re-established the upasampadā ordination in Ceylon.

Mahā Dhammarāja, a nephew of Nanda Bayin ascended the throne of Ava in Burma in the beginning of the seventeenth

[1]*CV*, ch. XCVII, vv. 10-13; *SK*, p. 91.
[2]*CJHSS*, vol. 2. no. 1; *CV*, ch. 100; vv. 59-60; *JCBRAS*, XVIII, p. 20.

century AD.[1] He is known in Burmese history as Anaukpetlun. He established his power in Northern Burma and conquered Prome in 1608 AD. He also exercised his great influence in the Toungoo dynasty. In 1613 AD he captured Syriam and conquered Nabbisipura in AD 1615. After him his brother Thalun occupied the throne of Ava. He after murdering Anaukpetlun captured the throne (AD 1629-1648).[2] He restored order in his kingdom. His reign was powerful and prosperous. He was a good administrator. He was a pious Buddhist and the religion flourished under his patronage. He constructed many monasteries in Upper Burma and gave them as presents to the Buddhist monks. Many famous monks used to live in his kingdom. Among them Tipitakalaṁkāra, Ariyalaṁkāra, Tisāsanālaṁkāra, Aggadhammālaṁkāra, Tilokaguru and Jambudhaja were the most eminent.[3] The king was a great patron of monastic scholarship.

Pindale (AD 1648-1661) came to the throne of Ava after Thalun.[4] He was a weak ruler. He also built monasteries and gave them to learned monks. In AD 1661 his brother took the throne.[5] But he was also a weak ruler. He was a religious and patronised monastic scholarship. Then Narawara became king of Ava (1672-1673).[6] He reigned only for one year. He was interested in the welfare of Buddhism and several monasteries were constructed in his reign. After him his younger brother Minrekyawdin took the throne (AD 1673-1698).[7] His reign was peaceful. Like his predecessors he also patronised Buddhism and monastic scholarship.

After the death of Minrekyawdin, his son Sane ascended the throne of Ava (AD 1698-1714).[8] During his rule a controversy relating to the Vinaya rules of monastic discipline arose in the Saṅgha. This controversy is known in the history of Buddhism as Pārupaṇa-Ekaṃsika controversy.[9] It disturbed the Saṅgha for over a century. Gunābhilaṃkāra, a thera of Tunna used to cover a head-covering and a palmyra-fan while he was in the village for alms. Without covering his one shoulder with upper robe he used to go for alms in the village. Some monks supported him. This group is known in Burmese history as the Ekaṃsika. But there were some orthodox monks who did not like the practices of the Ekaṃsikas. They followed the orthodox practices i.e. they used to cover both their

[1]*AHSEA*, p. 376. [2]ibid, p. 378. [3]*AISTBB*, p. 205.
[4]*AHSEA*, p. 379. [5]ibid, p. 380. [6]ibid, p. 380.
[7]ibid, p. 381. [8]*AHSEA*, p. 384. [9]*AISTBB*, p. 219.

shoulders when they went to villages for alms. They were known as the Pārupaṇas. They followed the rules of the Vinaya very rigidly. But the practices of the Ekaṃsikas were not according to the sacred texts. Many kings supported the Pārupaṇas but the Ekaṃsikas received favoured treatment from a ruler like Alaungpaya. In the reign of Mahāsihasuradhammarājādhirāja (or Taninganwe) (AD 1714-1733), the Elder Ukkamsamāla of Ava did his best to pupularise the Pārupaṇa practices in the kingdom.[1] But the Ekaṁsikas protested against his activities. Then the king appointed a committee to make a decision on this issue. But the members of the committee were not well-versed in the sacred texts so they were unable to settle the matter.

Mahādammayazadipati ascended the throne of Ava in AD 1733. He reigned for nearly twenty years (AD 1733-1752). He could not reign peacefully. During his rule some tribesmen under Gharib Newaz revolted against him and destroyed many villages, houses, monasteries and pagodas near Ava.[2] The Manipuris and Shans invaded the country. The Mons under their leader Smim Htaw Buddhaketi captured Syriam, Prome and Martaban and killed many Burmese.[3] Talaban, the leader of the Mons, attacked Ava in AD 1752 and conquered it. Mahadammazayaditpati was dethroned. He was the last ruler of the Toungoo dynasty. In his reign the Pārupaṇas, under Nāṇavara, became very powerful. Pāsaṁsathera was the leader of the Ekaṃsikas. Both the parties referred their matters to the king who was not in a position to settle them.

The next ruler was Alaungpaya (AD 1752-1760) who belonged to Konabaung dynasty.[4] He conquered Pegu from the Mons in AD 1755. Toungoo, Henzada, Myaungmya, Bassein and even the Arakanese district of Sandoway fell at his hands and he defeated the Mons.[5] He was a great warrior. He unified the whole Upper and Lower Burma and brought them under his control. He restored order and maintained peace in the country. At the end of his war with the Mons and the Shans king Alaungpaya devoted his time to the development of Buddhism in his kingdom. He was a pious ruler. He used to offer food to many monks on the Uposatha day. In his reign Atula Yasadhamma, the royal preceptor took a leading part for the establishment of the Ekaṃsika practices. He was the

[1] *AISTBB*, pp. 220-221. [2] *AHSEA*, pp. 384-385. [3] ibid, p. 385.
[4] *AISTBB*, p. 224. [5] *AHSEA*, p. 404.

leader of the Ekaṃsika party. It was due to his influence king Alaungpaya supported the cause of the Ekaṃsikas and they gained popularity.[1]

Bodawpaya (AD 1782-1819), the fifth son of Alaungpaya, was a capable ruler.[2] He tried to settle the Pārupaṇa-Ekamsika dispute. For this purpose he appointed commissioners and asked them to visit all the monasteries of Burma to get information regarding this controversy. But the Ekamsikas told that their practices were not in accordance with the sacred texts. Then the king declared that the Pārupaṇas followed the rules of the Vinaya and they performed their ecclesiastical acts according to the sacred texts. The king established the Pārupaṇa practices throughout his kingdom.[3] He settled the Pārupaṇa-Ekamsika controversy.

Bodawpaya's reign is important in the history of Buddhism in Burma for another reason. His reign witnessed religious intercourse between Burma and Ceylon. The Sinhalese king Kirti Śrī Rājasinha was a pious ruler and was interested in the welfare of the religion. But his certain policy relating to the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon was against the original teachings of Buddhism. In his reign the Buddhist Saṅgha gave upasampadā ordination to the monks who belonged to the highest caste only. Therefore the monks who belonged to the highest caste could receive the upasampadā ordination. The Saṅgha did not allow the Sāmaneras of the lowest caste to join the Saṅgha.[4] King Kirti Śrī Rājasinha supported it and he gave order in his kingdom to follow its advice. Naturally, the Sāmaṇeras of the lowest caste became angry and they protested against the king's order and the activities of the Buddhist Saṇgha in Ceylon. A Sāmaṇera named Ambagahapitiya Ñāṇavimalatissa with some Sāmaṇeras went to Amarapura near Ava in AD 1799 to receive the upasampadā ordination at the hands of the Burmese monks.[5] King Bodawpaya welcomed them and helped them during their stayin Amarapura. After receiving the upasampadā ordination from Ñāṇabhivamsa, the Burmese Saṅgharāja, the Sinhalese monks returned to Ceylon with five monks of the Burmese Saṇgha and Pali sacred books.[6] On their return they gave the upasampadā ordination on many Sāmaṇeras who wanted it and they established the Amarapura Saṅgha or the Buramagāma or the

[1]*AISTBB*, p. 227. [2]ibid, p. 231. [3]*AISTBB*, p. 232.
[4]ibid, p. 236. [5]ibid, p. 238. [6]ibid, p. 238.

Burmese Saṅgha in Ceylon. Its members adopted liberal policy and they allowed the sāmaṇeras of the highest and lowest castes to receive the upasampadā ordination and to join the Saṅgha.

The reign of Bodawpaya was an important period in Burmese history. From the eleventh century AD onwards Ceylon took the leading part in the establishment of Theravāda Buddhism and the Sīhala Saṅgha in different regions of South-east Asia. But towards the close of the eighteenth century AD we see that Buddhism suffered in Ceylon. With the help of the Burmese monks the Amarapura Saṅgha or the Burmese Saṅgha was established in Ceylon and they solved the problems which faced the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon at that time. This was no doubt a significant event in the history of Buddhism of both Burma and Ceylon.

Before the establishment of Theravāda Buddhism in Pagan in Upper Burma in the middle of the eleventh century, Tāntric Buddhism was very prominent these and it came probably from the Pāla kingdom in Bengal in India. Lower Burma was an important centre of Theravāda Buddhism under the Mon people during this period. The second half of the eleventh century marked the unification of Upper and Lower Burma by king Anuruddha under the kingdom of Pagan and the introduction and establishment of Theravāda Buddhism in Upper Burma from Thaton in Lower Burma by Anuruddha. At this time when Burma witnessed a great revival of Buddhism under the patronage of Anuruddha, Buddhism had suffered under severe political stress in Ceylon. The reign of Vijayabāhu I witnessed the driving away of the Coḷas from Ceylon with probable material aid from Anuruddha of Burma and the re-establishment of the proper ordination in Ceylon by the monks of Burma. This event indicates that close political, culture and religious ties existed between the two countries in the eleventh century AD. The twelfth century marked the unification of the Saṅgha, the restoration of Buddhism in Ceylon under king Parākramabāhu I, the arrival of the Burmese Buddhist monks in Ceylon to study the Sinhalese form of Buddhism and to receive ordination at the hands of the Mahātheras in Ceylon and the introduction and the establishment of the Sīhaḷa Buddhist Saṅgha at Pagan under royal patronage. Before its destruction by the Mongols in AD 1287 Pagan was a great centre of Buddhism receiving its main inspiration from Ceylon. Thus from about the eleventh century onwards Ceylon's contribution to the establish-

ment, development and the propagation of Buddhism in Burma was important and significant. Burma always considered Ceylon as the fountain-head of Theravāda Buddhism and that is why when the Burmese Buddhist monks were in trouble regarding religious matters they looked to Ceylon for help. Burma in the fifteenth century witnessed the religious revival and the unification of the Saṅgha under the guidance of the monks from Ceylon. At this time the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha grew in importance in Burma and most of the Burmese monks received the Sīhaḷa ordination under royal patronage. Thus with the help of the Buddhist Saṅgha of Ceylon, Burma established itself as a centre of Theravāda Buddhism and modelled its religious institutions on those of Ceylon. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when Buddhism in Ceylon had suffered severely as a result of internal trouble and foreign occupation, the Rakkhaṅga country in Arakan in Burma helped Ceylon to re-establish and restore the upasampadā ordination there. The eighteenth century witnessed the establishment of the Amarapura Saṅgha or the Burmese Saṅgha in Ceylon and this event indicates Burma's influence in Ceylon's Buddhism.

There is evidence to show that although Burma had close religious ties with Ceylon, there were other Theravāda countries such as Cambodia and Siam in South-east Asia with which Burma had established contact. The twelfth century AD witnessed the arrival of Tāmalinda thera, the son of the king of Cambodia with Chapaṭa thera in Burma from Ceylon.

The religious history of Burma affords valuable information about Burma's political and cultural connections with Siam and Burma's important role in the development of Buddhism in Siam in the reign of Bayin Naung in the second half of the sixteenth century AD. Bayin Naung, by sending Buddhist monks, Buddhist texts, offering money for the reconstruction of monasteries and performance of the ordination ceremony in Siam, made a great contribution to the Siamese Buddhist Saṅgha after his political occupation of Siam. An ex-king of Siam, who was staying in Burma due to political reasons, entered the Burmese Saṅgha as a monk at this time. These facts would help to estimate Bayin Naung's place as a patron of Buddhism in Burma and Siam and give us an idea regarding Burma's religious ties with Siam.

Chapter 6

Ceylon's Religious and Cultural Relations with Siam

THE eleventh century witnessed the rise and growth of Khmer rule over several regions of the Menam Valley.[1] An inscription[2] dated Śaka 944-1022 AD found at Lavo or Lopburi in Southern Siam refers to king Sūryavarman I (AD 1002-50) of Cambodia. Another inscription has been found at Sal Cau or San Chao in Lopburi.[3] This inscription is not dated but according to Coedes and Briggs, it belongs to the reign of Sūryavarman I and shows Khmer rule at Lobpuri. The archaeological findings also show Khmer influence over Sukhodaya and Śrī Sachanlai (or Svargaloka) in North Central Siam in the eleventh century AD.[4] The Khmer power reached the peak of its political and cultural development under Sūryavarman II (AD 1113-1150). According to Hall, the Thai chronicles state that his campaign against the Mon kingdom of Haripuñjaya failed.[5] During this period Khmer rule also existed at Lopburi. According to Hall,[6] strong Khmer influence upon the architecture of Lopburi possibly indicates Khmer rule at Lopburi. But after the death of Sūryavarman II, the Khmer empire had fallen upon evil days. The neighbouring country Champā conquered Angkor in AD 1177.[7] During this period of troubled politics, the Mon people at Lopburi rebelled. Jayavarman VII who ascended the throne towards the end of the twelfth century AD annexed Champā[8] and defeated the Mon at Lopburi and re-established Khmer rule in the Lower Menam Valley.[9] Under his

[1] *AHSEA*, p. 105; *TMSEA*, p. 100.
[2] ibid, p. 105; *LEHII*, p. 232; *TCSEA*, p. 53.
[3] ibid, p. 232; *TAKE*, p. 160.
[4] ibid, p. 232; *BEFEO*, XXXI, 1931, pp. 410-420.
[5] *AHSEA*, p. 108.
[6] ibid, p. 108.
[7] ibid, p. 111; *JSEAH*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1964, pp. 8-9.
[8] ibid, pp. 8-9.
[9] *TBLC*, p. 51.

rule the Khmer empire seems to have included the entire Menam valley except the Mon kingdom of Haripuñjaya.[1] The presence of the twelfth century AD. Khmer style in the archaeological finds of Sukhodaya shows the existence of Khmer influence in this region at that time.[2] The reference to local rulers at Haripuñjaya in three inscriptions belonging to the thirteenth century AD is a clear indication that Khmer rule did not extend to the Upper Menam valley during this period.[3] According to R. Halliday and C.M.O. Blagden,[4] the orthography of these inscriptions is identical with that of the Mon inscriptions of Burma between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. These inscriptions indicate that close cultural links already established, continued between Northern Siam and Burma.

The Thais who are said to have originally belonged to Yunan of China probably began to settle in the Menam valley from the eleventh century onwards.[5] They settled in Northern Siam and in the Śrī Sachanlai, Sukhodaya and Pitsanulok areas in North Central Siam. One branch reached Kamphaeng Phet on the Mae Phing river in Central Siam and Lopburi in Southern Siam.[6] Kublai Khan, the Mongol leader conquered the kingdom of Nanchao in China in AD 1253 and owing to this invasion many Thais from Nanchao fled to Northern, Central and Southern Siam.[7] In this way the Thais established themselves in Siam.

In about the middle of the thirteenth century AD two small states Muang Bang Yang (Mo'an Pan Yan)[8] and Muang Rat (MO'an Rat)[9] were governed by two Thai chiefs namely Bang Klang Thao or Pan Klan Dav and Pha Muang or Pha MO'an under Khmer sovereignty.[10] These two states revolted against the Khmer governor at Sukhodaya and Śrī Sachanlai and established the first independent Thai kingdom at Sukhodaya. The chief of Muang Bang Yang became the first ruler of the dynasty and bore the title

[1]*TAKE*, p. 237. [2]*BEFEO*, XXXI, p. 413. [3]ibid, XXV, pp. 189-195.
[4]ibid., XXX, pp. 86ff. [5]*TBLC*, p. 35; *TCSEA*, p. 167.
[6]ibid, p. 153; *ACHBAS*, p. 78; *AHSEA*, p. 108.
[7]ibid, p. 117; ibid, p. 36; *TPOSS*, p. VIII. [8]Cannot be identified.
[9]*RIS*, I, pp. 7-8 and 62; *LEHII*, p. 327 fn. 3: Muang Rat is situated to the east of Sukhodaya, perhaps in the valley of Nam Sak.
[10]*RIS*, I, p. 62.

Indra Patindrāditya or Śrī Indrāditya. They made themselves rulers of Siam and thus put an end to the political supremacy of Cambodia over them.[1]

Theravāda Buddhism flourished in the lower Menam valley under the patronage of the rulers of the Dvāravatī kingdom. But when the lower Menam valley was annexed to the Khmer empire in the eleventh century AD, Mahāyānism and Brāhmanism also existed there under the patronage of the Khmer rulers. A Khmer inscription dated Śaka 944 i.e. AD 1022-25 found at Lopburi refers to certain religious edicts issued by Sūryavarman I, the king of Cambodia.[2] It was decreed that in all holy places, temples, monasteries and hermitages, the ascetics, the sthaviras and Mahāyāna Bhikkhus should offer to the king the merits of their piety. People who disturb the prayers or the sacred duties of the pious should be handed over to tribunals for trial and punishment.[3] Therefore both Mahāyāna and Theravāda Buddhism as well as Brāhmanism flourished at Lopburi during this time. According to Coedès,[4] although various religions were practised at Lopburi under Khmer rule, the predominance of Buddha images and Buddhist monuments prove the importance of Buddhism at Lopburi during this period. It indicates that even under Khmer rule Buddhism maintained its importance and pre-eminence as it had flourished in this region under the rule of the kingdom of Dvāravatī. The discovery of Buddha images in North, Eastern, Southern and Central Siam indicates the flourishing condition of Buddhism there. The Buddha images from the town of Pimai near Korat in Central Eastern Siam reveal the influence of Khmer art.[5]

In the thirteenth century AD the Haripuñjaya kingdom was a great centre of Mon culture and it was a centre of Theravāda Buddhism. Several inscriptions discovered at Haripuñjaya as already discussed[6] are all in the Mon language and mixed with Pali. The use of Pali in these inscriptions shows that Theravāda Buddhism flourished under the patronage of the Mon rulers in the

[1]*LEHII*, p. 320; *BEFEO*, XXXI, pp. 370-371.
[2]ibid, p. 232; *LC*, II, p. 81; *EFEO*, XLIX, 1961, p. 37; *TASMS*, VIII, 1953, pp. 343ff.
[3]ibid, pp. 343ff; *ICIC*, p. 171.
[4]*RIS*, II, p. 10; *LEHII*, pp. 232-233; *TMSEA*, p. 122.
[5]*ACHBAS*, p. 67; *TCSEA*, p. 143. [6]pp. 131-132.

upper Menam valley before the arrival of the Thais.[1] Of them the Wat Don inscription of king Sabbādhisiddhi refers to the erection of a monastery called the Jetavana and a uposatha hall by the ruler.[2] It refers to gifts of lands, slaves and cattle to this monastery by the king and the construction of three cetiyas in its precincts. It also mentions that the king and his two sons had left the world in order to enter the monastic life at the Jetavana.[3] This was probably for sometime. The inscription refers to the name of the princes: Mahānām and Kaccay.[4] It also states that Rājaguru and about two hundred novices lived in this institution. It would seem that Jetavana was one of the more important monasteries in the city of Haripuñjaya in the thirteenth century AD. Two inscriptions have been discovered at Wat Kukut at Haripuñjaya.[5] The inscription No. 1 refers to a pagoda called the Ratanacetiya and the restoration of a monastery. The donor is king Sabbādhisiddhi himself. The inscription No. 2 of Wat Kukut refers to the Saṅgha and monastery. An inscription found at the Wat Sen Khaot-to or Khao Ho at Haripuñjaya[6] refers to the construction of a hall, the erection of ten statues of the Buddha and the granting of several donations. Its author is Tju Mahāthera of the city of Haripuñjaya. Another undated inscription found at Wat Ban Hlui mentions the Jetavana monastery.[7] All the facts mentioned in the above inscriptions indicate the flourishing condition of Theravāda Buddhism at Haripuñjaya during this period. About this time Theravāda Buddhism flourished under the patronage of the Mon people. Before the Thais established their contact with Ceylon the Mon people played a significant role in the Development of Theravāda Buddhism in Siam.

The establishment of Sukhodaya as the capital of the Thai kingdom is an important event not only in the political history but also in the history of Buddhism in Siam. It is very possible that the

[1]*BEFEO*, XXXI, pp. 428-429.

[2]ibid, XXX, p. 87; ibid, XXV, pp. 189-192; *TSGEC*, p. 110: Sabbādhisiddhi reigned at Haripuñjaya at the beginning of the thirteenth century AD. The Jinakālamālī refers to this king as Sabbasiddhi.

[3]ibid, XXX, pp. 89-90; ibid, XXV, pp. 190-192.

[4]ibid, XXX, p. 90; ibid, XXV, pp. 191-192.

[5]ibid, XXV, pp. 192-194; ibid, XXX, pp. 86ff; ibid, XXXI, p. 429.

[6]ibid, XXV, pp. 194-195; ibid, XXX, p. 95.

[7]ibid, XXX, p. 102.

Thais who came from China were followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[1] After their arrival in Siam they were influenced by the Mon culture and they adopted Theravāda Buddhism which flourished in Siam during this period under the patronage of the Mons.

The earliest known sources refer to Siam's first contact with Ceylon in the reign of Rocarāja of Sukhodaya in the second half of the thirteenth century AD.[2] There is evidence to show that from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards after the establishment of Sukhodaya kingdom there was regular intercourse between Ceylon and Siam. The Jinakālamālī refers to Rocarāja's contact with Ceylon.[3] Rocarāja while on a visit to the king of Siridhammanagara in the Malay Peninsula is said to have heard of the wondrous nature of a miraculous Buddha image in the island of Laṅka.[4] He wanted to possess this Sīhaḷa image and after consulting the king of Siridhammanagara sent a joint embassy to the king of Ceylon requesting him to send their miraculous Sīhaḷa image to

[1]*TCSEA*, p. 156. [2]*BEFEO*, XXV, p. 46; *TSGEC*, p. 121.

[3]ibid, XXV, p. 46; ibid, pp. 121ff.

[4]ibid, XXV, p. 46; ibid, p. 120: The Jinakālamālī gives details of the origin of this Buddha image in Ceylon. It states "Seven hundred years after the Teacher had passed away in perfect Nibbāna (i.e. AD 156) there were twenty Elder monks in Ceylon. At that time the king of the Sīhaḷas wishing to see a likeness of the Buddha went to the monastery and asked the leading Elder of the Order. "It is said that our Enlightened One, visited this island of Laṅkā thrice during his lifetime. Is there anyone alive now who has seen him.' At that very instant, on account of the (supernatural) power of the canker-waned Arahants the king of the Nāgas appeared before him in the guise of a youth and created a likeness of the Buddha in order to dispel the doubt of the king of the Sīhaḷas. For seven days and nights the king paid homage to the image of the Buddha. The king then had master sculptors summoned before him and having had an image of the Buddha (first) made of beeswax similar to that created by the king of the Nāgas and having had the outer mould carefully finished, had an alloy consisting of molten tin, gold and silver poured within. When the rest of the work such as filing and buffing was over it became dazzling and resplendent like the living Buddha Himself. And the king of the Sīhaḷas diligently worshipped it according divers forms of ministration and honour. His sons, grandsons and great-grand-sons too, in lineal descent, paid homage to the Sīhaḷa image."

Sukhodaya.[1] According to the Sihiṅgabuddharūpanidāna,[2] the leader of this joint embassy was a prince of Siridhammanagara who visited Ceylon to beg permission from the king of Ceylon to bring the Buddha image to Sukhodaya.[3] The facts of the Jinakālamālī indicate that the political influence of Siam extended upto the kingdom of Siridhammanagara. It would seem that Rocarāja was in a position to persuade the ruler of Siridhammanagara to carry out his behest. The king who ruled in Ceylon about this time was Parākramabāhu II of Dambadeniya (AD 1236-1271).[4] He received the envoy with honour and when he disclosed the object of his visit the image was handed over to him.[5] The mission suffered shipwreck on his return journey from Ceylon but the Sīhaḷa Buddha image remained aloft on a single plank and after three days it reached Siridhammanagara and from that place it was taken to Sukhodaya in Siam.[6] According to Prince Damrong,[7] Siam received this Buddha image known as Phrā Buddha Sihiṅga or Phrā Sihiṅga in the reign of Rāma Khamheng[8] and not in that of king Śrī Indrāditya. He remarks that there is no doubt regarding the inclusion of Siridhammanagara in the Sukhodaya kingdom in the reign of Śrī Indrāditya. The inscription of Rāma Khamheng (AD 1275-1317) in the Thai language dated Śaka 1214 i.e. AD 1292 reveals that Khun Sam Jan, the king of Muang Chuet invaded Raheng and king Śrī Indrāditya went to meet him but was routed. But Rāma Khamheng defeated the chief of Muang Chuet. Raheng and Muang Chuet are very near to Sukhodaya. This incident shows that probably in the reign of Śrī Indrāditya the Sukhodaya

[1] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 46. [2] *TSSFACP*, I, 1904-29, pp. 80-81.
The history of the statue of the Buddha named Sihiṅgabuddharūpanidāna was written in Pali by a Buddhist monk named Bodhiraṁsi of Nabbisipura between the years BE 2000 and 2070 i.e. in about AD 1459-1529. This book describes the famous Buddha image reputed to have arrived miraculously in Siam from the island of Ceylon where it was originally made and it relates the wandering of this image to different cities.

[3] ibid, p. 81. [4] *UCHC*, I, part II, p. 846.

[5] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 46; *TSGEC*, p. 122. [6] ibid, XXV, p. 46; ibid, p. 122.

[7] *TSSJ*, III, p. 76.

[8] *RIS*, I, p. 44: Rāma Khamheng was the third son of king Śrī Indrāditya. His original name is not known. But when he defeated Khun Sam Jan, the king of Muang Chuet in the district of Raheng in Central Siam, in a single encounter which took place on elephant back, his father gave him the name of Rāma Khamheng.

kingdom did not extend its frontiers very far.[1] There is evidence to show that in the second half of the thirteenth century Siam under Rāma Khamheng extended its territory upto Siridhammanagara. This inscription refers to the conquests of Rāma Khamheng in all four directions: eastwards as far as Vieng Chang, southwards as far as Siridhammanagara, westwards as far as Haṃsāvatī (Pegu) and northwards as far as Luang Prabang.[2] From the inscriptions mentioned above we may assume that Siam reached the zenith of its power in the reign of Rāma Khamheng. But there is no reference to Śrī Indrāditya's extension of the Sukhodaya kingdom upto Siridhammanagara in the political history of Siam. But Ferrand holds the view that possibly the Thais of Sukhodaya may have reached or gone beyond Siridhammanagara in the reign of Śrī Indrāditya.[3] In the Jinakālamālī, the king of Sukhodaya who sent a joint embassy was Rocarāja.[4] He is also known as Radrarāja.[5] According to Sihiṅganidāna or the Sihiṅgabuddharūpanidāna, he was Suraṅga or Seyyaroṅga or Seyyaraṅga or Ranaraṅga. According to the Siamese tradition, he is known as Phrā Ruang. It seems to have been a title, the meaning of which was national hero. Therefore it is possible that the references to Phrā Ruang and Rocarāja are one and the same ruler. Rocarāja or Suraṅga or Phrā Ruang has not yet been identified with any king of Siam who ruled at Sukhodaya in the second half of the thirteenth century AD. King Śrī Indrāditya of Sukhodaya, the founder and the first sovereign of this dynasty and the father of king Rāma Khamheng is often identified with Rocarāja or

[1] *TSSJ*, III, p. 77. [2] *RIS*, I, p. 48.

[3] *JA*, July-August, 1918, p. 138 fn. 3.

[4] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 46; *TSGEC*, p. 121.

[5] *TSGEC*, p. 121 fn. 3: "The Ayuthia version of the manuscript of the Jinakālamālī in Cambodian script, believed to be copied in 1794 has Rauṅgrāja, i.e. the term 'Luang' is Thai, meaning one who accomplishes one's activities. At a later time, the name 'Luang' became Ruang. The king is generally known by the Thai people as Phra Ruang or King Ruang. He was a contemporary of king Siridhamma of Nakorn Śrī Dhammarāj but belonged to a later period. It is understood that in the reign of king Siridhamma of the city of Sri Dhammarāj, there was another king of the same name of Phrā Ruang who was otherwise called Sai-Rong (Seyyarong) or Śrī Indrāditya, father of king Ruang in question. It is mentioned in the Sihiṅgabuddharūpanidāna that king Siridhamma's reign was in 1500 BE. This date may be quite right. Anyhow, king Ruang mentioned in the Jinakālamālī must be placed in a period subsequent to king Siridhamma."

Suraṅga or Phrā Ruang.[1] Prince Damrong identifies Śrī Indrāditya with Phra Ruang or Rocarāja or Suraṅga.[2] Coedès is of opinion that Rocarāja was king Rāma Khamheng.[3] According to Dhanit Yupho, he was Rāma Khamheng.[4] Among the independent kings of Sukhodaya, there were at least five kings who were known as Phra Ruang in Siamese history[5] and the great Phra Ruang was Rāma Khamheng. Therefore it is difficult to identify him with any of them.

According to the Sihiṅganidāna or Sihiṅgabuddharūpanidāna, Siridhamma, the king of Siridhammanagara reigned 1500 years after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha i.e. in 956 or 957 AD.[6] The Jinakālamālī refers to Rocarāja, the king of Sukhodaya, as having begun his reign 1800 years after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha i.e. in AD 1256 or 1257 and the king of Siridhammanagara was Siridhamma at this time.[7] It shows that he was a contemporary of king Roca of Sukhodaya. These two works belong to somewhat the same period and are important from the point of view of religious and cultural history of Siam. The king who reigned in Siridhammanagara at the time of Rocarāja as discussed above has been identified with a certain king of Siridhammanagara belonging to the thirteenth century AD.

There are different opinions regarding the exact location of the kingdom of Siridhammanagara and the identify of its king. The Cūlavaṃsa and the Pūjāvaliya refer to two invasions of Ceylon by a Jāvaka king named Candrabhānu in the reign of Parākramabāhu II[8] and Candrabhānu's first invasion took place in the eleventh year of the latter's reign[9] and that is in AD 1247. A Sanskrit inscription dated Kaliyuga 4333 i.e. in AD 1230 found in Caiya or Jaiya area at Siridhammanagara in the Malay Peninsula records the ruling monarch with the title of Candrabhānu and it also refers to him as Tāmbraliṅgeśvara or the 'Lord of Tāmbraliṅga'.[10] This ruling monarch has been identified with Candrabhānu of the Ceylon chronicles and the king of Siridhammanagara, the friend of Rocarāja according to the Jinakālamālī. Because both belong to

[1]*RIS*, I, p. 8. [2]*TSSJ*, III, p. 76, [3]*LEHII*, p. 345.
[4]*TSGEC*, p. 121 fn. 2. [5]*TSSJ*, III, p. 75. [6]*TSGEC*, p. 121 fn. 3.
[7]*BEFEO*, XXV, p. 46; ibid, p. 121.
[8]*CV*, ch. LXXXIII, vv. 36-48; 62-75; *PV*, p. 43.
[9]ibid, ch. LXXXII, v. 36; *PV*, p. 43. [10]*JCBRAS*, XXXII, p. 195.

the same period. Coedès states that Candrabhānu invaded Ceylon with the object of capturing the miraculous Buddha image.[1] But he was defeated by the army of the king of Ceylon. Then he despatched a joint embassy with Rocarāja of Sukhodaya and received that image of peaceful means from the king of Ceylon. The suggestion of Coedès is not without justification.[2] Because the Cūlavaṃsa as well as the Pūjāvaliya refer to Buddhism as the religion of Candrabhānu and his party. The Cūlavaṃsa records[3] the second invasion of Ceylon by Candrabhānu to possess the Tooth Relic of the Buddha. According to Coedès, the second expedition took place in AD 1270.[4] The Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa mentions that Candrabhānu belonged to Tambaliṅga country.[5] The Sinhalese translation of this work, called Eḷu Attangaluvaṃsa, written in AD 1382 refers to the name Tambaliṅga.[6] The translation, written in the reign of Parakramabāhu VI of Koṭṭe in the first half of the fifteenth century AD, mentions the name Tamaliṅgomu. The Rājaratnākara,[7] a work of the sixteenth century AD, says that the chief who invaded Ceylon was king of Tamaliṅgomu. The Dambadeṇiasna mentions that the king of Tamaliṅgamu was defeated by king Parākramabāhu II.[8] The Pūjāvaliya refers to Tamaliṅgamu or Tamaliṅgamuva.[9] So in the Sinhalese texts the names Tambaliṅga and Tamaliṅgamu are used. Sir Donald Braddell is of opinion that Tambraliṅga lies in the Kuantan area where an important tributary of the Pahang river still carries the name of Tembeling or Tanjong Tembeling.[10] Nilakanta Sastri agrees with this identification.[11] According to Coedès, the centre of Tāmbraliṅga was modern Ligor or Nakhon Si Thammarāt or Nakorn Śrī Dhammarāj.[12] O.W. Wolters fully agrees with the suggestion of Coedès.[13] Prof. Sylvain Levi has identified Tamali with Tambaliṅga or Tāmbraliṅga.[14] Coedès states that Tan-ma-ling is called Tāmbraliṅga or Ligor.[15] Wheatley treated it as a state in the Ligor district in the Malay Peninsula.[16] Prof. Paranavitana identifies

1 *JCBRAS*, p. 195; *BTLVNI*, pp. 459-472.
2 *CJHSS*, vol. 3, no. 1, January-June, 1960, p. 56.
3 *CV*, LXXXVIII, vv. 62-66.
4 *LEHII*, p. 310.
5 *HVV*, p. 32.
6 *EAV*, p. 45.
7 *RK*, p. 37.
8 *Dda*, pp. 3-6.
9 *PV*, p. 33; 43.
10 *JRASMB*, XXIII, pt. II, pp. 1ff.
11 *AHSI*, p. 194.
12 *LEHII*, p. 72.
13 *BSOAS*, XXI, pt. 3, pp. 587ff.
14 *EA*, II, pp. 26-27.
15 *TSSFACP*, II, 1954, pp. 155-6.
16 *TGK*, p. 67.

Siridhammanagara with Ligor.[1] Thus Siridhammanagara has been identified with modern Ligor and it is known in Thai as Nakorn Śrī Dhammarāj 'city of the king of the Law (Dhamma)' and in Malay as Nakhon Si Thammarāt and in Pali writings as Tambaraṭṭha and Tambaliṅga and in the Sinhalese texts as Tambaliṅga and Tamaliṅgamu.[2] From what has been observed earlier[3] it would seem that the political influence of Siaṃ extended upto Siridhammanagara. It is now included in thc territories of Siam.[4]

There are sufficient reasons to believe that Tambaraṭṭha was an important centre of Theravāda Buddhism in the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries AD.[5] Evidence of religious intercourse between Ceylon and Tambaraṭṭha goes back to the twelfth century AD.[6] A fragmentary slab inscription of Sundaramahādevī, wife of Vikramabāhu I (1111-1132 AD) found at the royal place at Poḷonnaruva, refers to Tambaraṭṭha.[7] The first two lines of the inscription begin with the praise of Ānanda, a prominent thera of Ceylon.[8] He is called "a banner raised aloft in the land of Laṅkā."[9] Only the first seven lines of this fragmentary inscription are well-kept. Due to its fragmentary nature it is very difficult to draw any definite conclusion about the role played by Ānanda thera in the religious history of Tambaraṭṭha or Ligor or about his connection with Tambaraṭṭha. It is, however, possible to surmise that close religious ties existed between the two countries during this time.

According to the Kalyāṇī inscriptions and the Sāsanavaṃsa, Ānanda Mahāthera accompanied Chapaṭa to Burma in the second half of the twelfth century AD. He is referred to as a monk from Kāñcipura (in South India) although he resided in Ceylon at this time. Ānand thera of the fragmentary slab inscription of a Sundaramahādevī, wife of Vikramabāhu I can be assigned to the twelfth century AD. This inscription shows that Ānanda thera was a prominent figure in Ceylon. Ānanda Mahāthera of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions and the Sāsanavaṃsa was undoubtedly a monk of great

[1] *JCBRAS*, XXXII, p. 196 [2] ibid, p. 196. [3] pp. 136-137.
[4] *JCBRAS*, XXXII, p. 196. [5] *CM*, p. 81.
[6] *CJHSS*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1960, p. 55.
[7] *EZ*, IV, pp. 67-72; *CJS*, II, section G, p. 186; *TGGIS*, II, pp. 17-25.
[8] ibid, IV, pp. 67-72; ibid, II, p. 186. [9] ibid, IV, pp. 71-72.

repute to have been invited by Chapaṭa Mahāthera to accompany him to Burma. Therefore Ānanda thera of the fragmentary slab inscription of Sundaramahādevī and Ānanda Mahāthera of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions and the Sāsanavaṃsa are probably identical as they belong to roughly the same period.

The reign of Parākramabāhu II also witnessed religious contact between the two countries. Parākramabāhu II devoted his time to promote the cause of Buddhism. Because about this time, "All the corrupt groups of bhikkhus who since the interregnum lived only for their own desires, following forbidden occupation[1] – – – he sought out rigorously, dismissed them from the Order and thus purified the Order of the perfectly Enlightened One."[2] The king heard about Dhammakitti thera of Tambaraṭṭha. The Cūlavaṃsa and the Pūjāvaliya mention that many Mahātheras lived in Tambaraṭṭha during this time.[3] It indicates that Buddhism flourished to a great extent there in the thirteenth century. Parākramabāhu II is said to have invited Dhammakitti thera from Tambaraṭṭha to come to Ceylon.[4] The Cūlavaṃsa and the Pūjāvaliya mention that king Parākramabāhu II sent numerous religious gifts as well as royal gifts to the king of Tambaraṭṭha and invited Dhammakitti thera who was a very famous monk in Tambaraṭṭha to visit Ceylon.[5] Prof. Paranavitana in his book Ceylon and Malaysia[6] says that the miraculous sacred Buddha image as narrated in the Jinakālamālī[7] was among the religious gifts. But the Cūlavaṃsa and the Pūjāvaliya do not make any reference to it and they do not mention the name of the king of Tambaraṭṭha to whom the king of Ceylon sent presents. Prof. Paranavitana is of opinion that he was Candrabhānu of the Ceylon chronicles.[8] The Pūjāvaliya states that Dhammakitti thera came to Ceylon from Tamaliṅgamuva.[9]

An inscription[10] belonging to the reign of king Rāma Khamheng of Sukhodaya refers to the visit of a Mahāthera from Siridhamma-nagara to Sukhodaya in his reign and the construction of the

[1]*CV*, ch. LXXXIV, v. 7, fn 3: Professions which are not fit for a monk are enumerated in the Dighanikāya (Eng. thrans., II, part I, pp. 5-6).

[2]ibid, ch. LXXXIV, vv, 7-8.

[3]ibid, ch. LXXXIV, vv. 11-16; *PV*, p. 43.

[4]ibid, ch. LXXXIV, vv. 11-15; ibid, p. 43.

[5]ibid, ch. LXXXIV, vv. 11-15; ibid, p. 43.

[6]*CM*, p. 79.

[7]pp. 135-136.

[8]*CM*, p. 79.

[9]*PV*, p. 43.

[10]*RIS*, I, p. 46.

monastery of Araññikas for this Mahāthera by the king.

The story of the Jinakālamālī indicates that there were friendly relations between Ceylon, Sukhodaya and Siridhammanagara. From the fragmentary inscription of Sundaramahādevī, the Cūlavaṃsa and the Pūjāvaliya, it is known that close religious ties existed between Ceylon and Tambaraṭṭha (Siridhammanagara) and the latter was an important centre of Theravāda Buddhism. These sources also reveal that Siam's relations with Tambaraṭṭha was very friendly. The Jinakālamālī gives an indication about the important role played by Siridhammanagara in establishing contact between Ceylon and Siam in the middle of the thirteenth century. It may be possible to conclude from this that Siam established its religious and cultural contact with Ceylon through the medium of Siridhammanagara, in the middle of the thirteenth century.

Although there is no evidence regarding direct cultural connections between Ceylon and Siam for the first half of the fourteenth century the Jinakālamālī refers to the establishment of the Sinhalese Buddhist Saṅgha in Sukhodaya during the reign of Dhammarāja of Sukhodaya, identified as Lodaiya or Lothāi (AD 1317-1347), the son of Rāma Khamheng.[1] Coedès and Hall are of opinion that he acquired the title of Dhammarāja or Dhammikarāja 'the pious king' for his contribution to the development of Buddhism.[2] In this case Burma like Ligor acted as an intermediary in the religious intercourse between Ceylon and Siam. According to the Jinakālamālī,[3] a famous Sinhalese Mahāthera named Udumbara Mahāsāmī 'Great Sage' arrived in the Rāmañña country i.e. Lower Burma from Ceylon. We are also informed of the visit of a Siamese monk named Sumana from Sukhodaya to the Rāmañña country to receive the upasampadā ordination at the hands of the Sinhalese Mahāthera and to study the religious texts under his guidance.[4] The Jinakālamālī does not explain the reason for the visit of the Mahāthera from Ceylon to the Rāmañña country. But his arrival indicates mutual ties between the Buddhist Saṅgha of Ceylon and Rāmañña as well as of Rāmañña and Sukhodaya and Ceylon's strong religious influence over the neighbouring Buddhist countries.

[1] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 95.
[2] *LEHII*, p. 366; *AHSEA*, p. 164; *TMSEA*, p. 140.
[3] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 95; *TSGEC*, p. 117. [4] ibid, p. 95; ibid, p. 117.

The king of Sukhodaya on hearing of the reputed Sinhalese Mahāthera Udumbara Mahāsāmī sent an envoy requesting him to send a monk who would be able to perform all ecclesiastical functions of the Saṅgha in Sukhodaya.[1] It would seem that the knowledge of the Sīhaḷa Buddhist Saṅgha was widespread in the Buddhist countries of South-east Asia during this time and the Siamese king with a view to establish the Sinhalese form of the monastic discipline and in order to reorganise and model the Buddhist Saṅgha of Siam on that of Ceylon sought the help of the Sinhalese Mahāthera. Udumbara Mahāsāmī received the envoy of the king of Sukhodaya and he sent the Elder Sumana to Dhammarāja of Sukhodaya.[2] His arrival in Sukhodaya helped to introduce the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in Siam. Elder Sumana stayed at the Wat Pa Mamuang or the Ambavanārāma or Mango Grove monastery, to the east of Sukhodaya and devoted his time to popularise the Sinhalese form of the monastic discipline there. According to the Jinakālamālī, Lideyya or Luthāi, the son of Dhammarāj, who was then viceroy at Śrī Sajjanālai (or Śrī Sachanlai or Svargaloka)[3] also paid his respects to the Elder Sumana when the latter visited him.[4]

The Jinakālamālī which deals with the introduction and the establishment of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in Siam refers to Udumbara Mahāsāmī. It is possible to treat the story of the Jinakālamālī relating to Udumbara Mahāsāmī as fairly accurate. It is probable that Udumbara was not the personal name of this reputed Sinhalese Mahāthera. He belonged to the Araññavāsī fraternity,[5] whose centre of activity was at Udumbaragiri or Dimbulāgala in Tamankaḍuva.[6] This group became very prominent in the twelfth

[1]*BEFEO*, XXV, p. 95; *TSGEC*, p. 117. [2]ibid, XXV, p. 95; ibid, p. 117.

[3]ibid, XXV, p. 95; ibid, p. 117: A town situated a little way up-river from Sukhodaya.

[4]ibid, XXV, pp. 95-96; ibid, p. 118.

[5]*JCBRAS*, XXXII, p. 198; *TSGEC*, p. 117 fn. 4 and p. 129 fn. 5.

[6]*EZ*, III, p. 188; *UCHC*, I, part II, p. 754; *JKM*, p. XIII: "This name Udumbara must be the shortened form of Udumbaragiri, the Sinhalese form of which is Dimbulāgala. Dimbulāgala is a great rock situated in the North Central Province of Ceylon, in which province the ancient cities of Anurādhapura and Pulathinagara are situated. The monastic establishment of Dimulāgala was well-known for its erudite Elders, such as Mahākassapa who was the adviser to king Parākramabāhu the Great."

and thirteenth centuries in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon.[1] Udumbara Mahāsāmī has been identified at Saṅgharāja Medhaṅkara, the author of the Lokappadīpasāra.[2] According to Coedès and Reginald Le May, the king of Ceylon used to give titles Sāmī or Mahāsāmī to foreign priests who visited the island to study the Sinhalese form of Buddhism.[3] They suggest that probably Udumbara Mahāsāmī came from the neighbouring country of Burma. But there is sufficient evidence to show that many Sinhalese Mahātheras are also known by the title Mahāsāmī. The Cūlavaṃsa refers to the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharakkhita in the reign of Vijayabāhu III.[4] The Nikāyasaṅgrahava, a work of the fourteenth century AD, also refers to the name of the second Dhammakitti Mahāsāmī in the reign of Virabāhu II.[5] Even the Jinākalamālī refers to Vanaratana Mahāsāmī, in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI.[6] So all these facts indicate that the title Mahāsāmī was also used by Sinhalese monks. Therefore it is possible that Udumbara Mahāsāmī who belonged to the island of Laṅkā helped in the introduction of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha to Siam and the propagation of the Theravāda form of Buddhism in that country through Siamese monks like Sumana.

The Mūlasāsanā, a history of Buddhism, which was written at Nabbisipura in the fifteenth century AD, mentions the same episode. It refers to two Siamese Mahātheras, Anomadassi and Sumana. They belonged to Sukhodaya and were the disciples of the Saṅgharāja of Sukhodaya, who was known as Mahā Pabbata. From Sukhodaya they went to Ayodhya (or Ayuthia) in Southern Siam and studied the three Piṭakas there. After finishing their study they returned to Sukhodaya and stayed at the monastery of the Saṅgharaja of Sukhodaya with other monks. While they were staying there they heard of the fame of the Sinhalese Mahāthera Udumbarapupphā Mahāsāmī.[7] They came to Martaban and

[1] *JCBRAS*, XXXII, p. 198; *PLC*, p. 211.

[2] *UCHC*, I, part II, p. 754; *TSGEC*, p. 117 fn. 4.

[3] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 95 fn. 5; *ACHBAS*, p. 120.

[4] *CV*, ch. LXXXI, v. 76.

[5] *NKS*, p. 29.

[6] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 105.

[7] The Sinhalese monk Anumati, who was known as Udumbarapupphā Mahāsāmī, was the disciple of a reputed Sinhalese Mahāthera Mahākassapa, the Saṅgharāja of the Udumbara Araññavāsī Fraternity (or Forest Monastery) of Ceylon. Udumbara is the Pali name of a wild fig. the ficus glomerata. The Pali noun puppha is flower. The Elder Anumati from Ceylon came to Martaban is Lower Burma in 1331 AD with twelve Mon-Burmese monks who went to Ceylon to receive ordination and to study religious texts at the Udumbaragirivihāra in Ceylon. He

received their reordination at the hands of Udumbarapupphā Mahāsāmī. They studied the religious texts for five years under him at his monastery. Then he asked them to go to Sukhodaya and to stay there for five years. He also told them to come back to see him again so he would give them Nissayamuttas with the title of Mahāthera. They then returned to Sukhodaya and stayed there for five years and came back to Martaban again in AD 1341 or 1342 with eight monks namely Ānanda, Buddhasāgara, Sujāta, Khema, Piyadassi, Suvaṇṇagiri, Vessabhu and Saddhatissa from Sukhodaya and stayed at the monastery of Udumbarapupphā Mahāsāmī. These eight monks received their re-ordination there. Anomadassi and Sumana received Nissayamuttas with the title of Mahātheras from Udumbarapupphā Mahāsāmī. They studied there for three months and returned to Sukhodaya. The Mahāthera Anomadassi stayed at the Rattavanamahāvihāra (Red Forest Monastery) as Sajjanālaya and the Mahāthera Sumana stayed at the Ambavanārāma (Mango Grove Monastery) at Sukhodaya. They both devoted their time to popularise the Sinhalese form of the monastic discipline there. The Elder Piyadassi went to Ayuthia to establish the religion there. The people of Ayuthia gave him the title of Mahāsāmī. The Elder Suvaṇṇagiri came to Luang Pra Bang. Here he established the religion there and he received the title of Mahāsāmī. The religion of the Nan country flourished after the arrival of the Elder Vassabhu there and the people of this country offered him the title of Mahāsāmī.[1] When the Mahāthera Sumana went to Nabbisipura the Elder Ānanda stayed at the Mango Grove Monastery to popularise the religion there. The Elders Buddhasāgara, Sujāta, Khema and Saddhatissa came to Son Gve near Viṣuloka in Northern Siam to practise the religion there.[2]

The Mahāthera Sumana was an important figure in the religious history of Siam. He rendered valuable services to the cause of Buddhism in Sukhodaya in the reign of king Lothai, who was a great patron of Buddhism. The Mūlasāsanā refers to the establish-

established the Araññavāsī Sīhaḷabhikkhusaṅgha in Martaban. He also gave his full support to the development of Theravāda Buddhism there. The king and the people were so happy with his religious activities that the king of Martaban gave him the title of Udumbarapupphā Mahāsāmī—*TSSJ*, January, 1972, vol. 60, part I, pp. 50ff.

[1]*TSSJ*, January, 1972, Vol. 60, part I, pp. 50ff.

[2]ibid, p. 59.

ment of Buddhism in Sukhodaya during his reign. The Mahāthera Sumana while on a visit to Sajjanālaya is said to have heard of the wondrous nature of a miraculous relic of the Buddha which was sent by Aśoka from India in the third century BC. He with the help of the local people discovered the relic which performed many miracles. Lothāi, the king of Sukhodaya, on hearing of the miraculous sacred Relic sent an envoy requesting the Elder Sumana to come to the city with the Relic. The Elder Sumana brought it to Sukhodaya. The king received it with great honour.

The fame of Udumbara Mahāsāmī also reached Nabbisipura.[1] The Jinakālamālī gives details of the religious contact between the king of Nabbisipura and Udumbara Mahāsāmī.[2] The king of Nabbisipura at this time was Kilanā or Kuenā or Phra Chao Kuenā. According to the Jinakālamālī,[3] king Kilanā who was born in AD 1339 was consecrated ruler at the age of sixteen i.e. in AD 1355. The king sent an envoy to Udumbara Mahāsāmī in the Rāmañña country with a request that a monk, capable of performing all religious acts be sent in Nabbisipura.[4] The Mahāthera complied with the king's request and sent Ānanda thera to king Kilanā.[5] According to Ānanda thera's advice the king sent an envoy to the king of Sukhodaya requesting him to send the Elder Sumana to Nabbisipura.[6] The Elder Sumana with the permission of the king went to Nabbisipura. According to the chronology of the Siamese kings, Luthāi or Lideyya, the son of king Lothai or Dhammarāja and the grandson of Rāma Khamheng, was the ruler of Sukhodaya at this time.[7] He occupied the throne of Sukhodaya in AD 1347. The Jinakālamālī[8] refers to Dhammarāja, the king of Sukhodaya about this time. Several kings of Sukhodaya in the fourteenth and in the first half of the fifteenth centuries had the title of Dhammarāja. So Luthāi who took the title af Śrī Sūryavaṁsa Rāma Mahādhamma-rājādhirāja at the time of his accession to the throne is

[1] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 96; *TSGEC*, p. 118. [2] ibid, XXV, p. 96; ibid, p. 118.

[3] ibid, p. 116: The Śakkarāja or Śakarāja or the Cūllaśakarāja used by the Siamese starts with 638 AD. (*RIS*, I, p. 13). Sakaraja 701-638 AD—1339 AD. This has been calculated on this basis.

[4] ibid, p. 118; *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 96. [5] ibid, p. 119; ibid, XXV, p. 96.

[6] ibid, p. 119; ibid, XXV, p. 96. [7] *RIS*, I, p. 84.

[8] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 96; *TSGEC*, p. 119.

Dhammarāja of the Jinakālamālī.[1] He was Dhammarāja II.[2] The inscription found in the Talavanārāma or Wat Pa Ten in Sukhodaya consists of three parts.[3] The second part of the inscription which is in Cambodian characters but in the Siamese language refers to the visit of Mahāsamanathera to Northern Siam from Sukhodaya in Śakarāja 731 i.e. in AD 1369. According to Coedès, Mahāsamanathera of the inscription is Elder Sumana of the Jinakālamālī.[4] The reference to the north as related in the inscription is Nabbisipura and Haripuñjaya in Northern Siam. Another inscription, dated Śakarāja 731=AD 1369 found at the monastery of the standing Buddha images or Wat Phra Yun near Haripuñjaya both in Pali and Thai, deals with the arrival of Sumana at Nabbisipura in the reign of Kuenā.[5] This inscription refers to the king as Son Sen Na. It refers to the father of Son Sen Na as Phayu and his grandfather as Kham Phu. According to the chronology of the kings of Nabbisipura as given in the Poṅsāvadān Yonok, the father of Kilanā was Phayu and the grandfather was Kham Phu.[6] According to the Jinakālamālī, he is Phayu and Kham Phu is Hariplava.[7] In the Sihiṅganidāna, Phayu is spelled as Prāyū[8] and afterwards it is Phāyū. This is because the people of Northern Siam pronounce the word Pra as Pha.[9] According to the Poṅsāvadān Yonok, Kilanā is Kuenā.[10] He is known as Kilanā in the Jinakālamālī. Thus king Son Sen Na is king Kilanā of the Jinakālamālī.[11] Therefore these two inscriptions would help to confirm the facts relating to king Kilanā and Sumana's contribution to the establishment of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in Northern Siam as narrated in the Jinakālamālī.

King Luthāi was a man of culture. He was also a devout Buddhist. He showed mercy towards all beings. He devoted his time to the propagation of Buddhism which became very popular in Siam during his rule. An inscription refers to him: "This king

[1] *RIS*, I, p. 97; ibid, p. 118 fn. 1. [2] *TMSEA*, p. 140. [3] *RIS*, I, pp. 131ff.
[4] ibid, I, p. 137 fn. 2. [5] *BEFEO*, XXV, pp. 195ff.
[6] ibid, XXV, p. 30, B. 'Rois De Xieng Mai'; *TSGEC*, p. 116 fn. 2.
[7] ibid, XXV, p. 30; ibid, p. 116, fn 2.
[8] *TSGEC*, pp. XLI-XLII: The meaning of the word Phāyū is one who is advanced in age (Prā+āyu).
[9] ibid, pp. XLI-XLII. [10] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 30 B. [11] ibid, XXV, p. 30 B.

observed the ten royal precepts.[1] He showed mercy towards all his subjects. When he saw another Man's rice he did not covet it, and when he saw another's wealth he did not behave unworthily—— If he arrested people guilty of cheating or insolence, those who put poison in his food so as to cause him illness or death, he never killed or beat them, but forgave those who behaved evilly towards him. The reason why he repressed his heart and restrained his temper, and did not give way to anger when he might have done, was that he desired to become a Buddha and to take every creature beyond the ocean of the affliction of Transmigration."[2] Under his instruction several Buddhist centres and temples were established in the kingdom. The king studied the Abhidhammapiṭaka, the Vinaya, the Vedas, the śāstras, the Dharmanāyas, the Jyotiśāstra (astronomy) and other Brahmanical texts.[3] The Traibhūmikathā, a large treatise on Buddhist Cosmology, now known as Traiphum p'a Ruang, was composed by him. It is clear from the above facts that Sukhodaya was a great centre of Buddhist studies in the middle of the fourteenth century AD.

The second half of the fourteenth century witnessed direct religious intercourse between Ceylon and Siam. From that period onwards several inscriptions, found at different places in Siam, give details of direct contact with Ceylon. King Luthāi, who is popularly known as Sūryavaṁsa Rāma Mahādhammarājādhirāja or Dhammarāja II gave his full support to the development of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in Siam. Under his patronage Sukhodaya became the centre of Buddhist activities.

The Nagara Jum inscription dated Śakarāja 1279 i.e. AD 1357 written in the Siamese language and belonging to the reign of Luthāi, states that a sacred and authentic relic of the Buddha "Śrī Ratanamahādhātu" was brought from Ceylon and was installed with great solemnity by the king in AD 1357 at Nagara Jum. It also mentions that a branch of the sacred Bo-tree was brought to Siam from Ceylon and was planted near this sacred

[1]Mentioned before.
[2]*LEHII*, pp. 368-9; *RIS*, I, p. 107; *AHSEA*, p. 176. [3]*TICS*, p. 45.

relic at Nagara Jum.[1] According to Prof. Paranavitana, it was brought from Anurādhapura.[2] The second part of this inscription is fragmentary. It refers to the establishment of several Buddhapādas in Siam on the model of the Buddhapāda of the Sumanakūṭaparvata in Ceylon by Dhammarāja.[3]

The Sumanakūṭaparvata inscription found at Sukhodaya has received this name because a replica of the Buddhapāda from the Sumanakūṭaparvata in Ceylon was installed in Siam in AD 1359 by king Sūryavaṁsa Rāma Mahādhammarājādhirāja.[4]

Two inscriptions, one in the Khmer language and the other in Siamese found at Sukhodaya, were installed by king Luthāi. They refer to the invitation sent by king Luthāi to Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja of Ceylon. These inscriptions were specially composed to commemorate the arrival of the Saṅgharāja from Ceylon, his installation at the monastery of the Mango Grove and the ordaining of king Luthāi.[5] The Khmer inscription contains more information than the Siamese inscription and it is better preserved. It gives details of the arrangements made by the king of Sukhodaya in honour of the Mahāthera. It would seem that these arrangements were extremely elaborate and on a lavish scale.[6] The king then invited the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja as well as the theras, anutheras and the whole assembly of bhikkhus to ascend the Golden Tower in the Royal Palace and then entered the Saṅgha as a novice—— When he had pronounced his vows and had received ordination, he descended from the Golden Tower and

[1] *RIS*, I, pp. 77-90: Nagara Jum Or Nagara Brah Jum is situated on the right bank of the Mae Phing river in Central Siam. P.N. Bose and Prince Damrong bave identified Nagara Jum with modern Kampheng Phet (*TICS*, p. 45; *TSSJ*, III, p. 90). The Jinakālamālī refers to it as Vajirapākāra (*BEFEO*, XXV, p. 99 fn 1).

[2] *JCBRAS*, XXXII; *UCHC*, I, part II, p. 754.

[3] *RIS*, I, pp. 89-90.

[4] ibid, I, pp. 123ff.

[5] ibid, I, pp. 91-102ff; and pp. 103-109ff.

[6] ibid, I, pp. 91-109:

When the king received the news of the arrival of the Mahāthera and a group of bhikkhus from Ceylon, he asked for the ministers and the members of the royal family to go and receive them and pay them homage from the land of Chaut (*AMG*, 27, p. 53: Today it is known as Pitsanulok) as far as Iyan Don (*RIS*, I, pp. 88 fn 2: It is located between Tak and Kambaen Pejra), then at Pan Candra, Pan Bar (*AMG*, 27, p. 53: It is identified with modern Bang Phang or Pan Ban) and then at Sukhodaya (*AMG*, 27, p. 174 fn 3: These localities are

went on foot to the Mango Grove. The king's action caused deep disappointment to his lay subjects who requested him to leave the Saṅgha and undertake the administration of the country while the monks asked him to remain in the Saṅgha. The king reported this matter to the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja who decided in favour of the people and consequently king Luthāi after leaving the Saṅgha, reassumed royal power.[1] The personal name of the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja does not occur in the Siamese inscription. Mahasāmī Sarigharāja has been identified with the Saṅgharāja Medhaṅkara, the author of the Lokappadīpasara and Udumbara Mahāsāmī.[2] Part IV of the inscription mentions that the Mahāthera who came from the island of Laṅkā composed Pali gāthās (verses) in praise of king Śrī Sūryavaṁsa Rāma Mahādhammarājādhirāja.[3] This composition is of great literary merit and is undoubtedly the work of a distinguished scholar. The first part of the Pali inscription describing the ordination of king Luthāi is in verse and the rest is written in prose. According to Prof. Paranavitana,[4] the style and composition of the inscription are similar to such Pali works such as Hatthavanagallavihāravaṁsa and the Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā, composed in Ceylon during the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries AD.

A fragmentary inscription in the Siamese script found at the Wat Mahādhātu of Sukhodaya refers to a monk named Mahāthera

between the land of Chaut and Sukhodaya). The king then hastened to sweep and cleanse the royal avenue extended from the eastern gate to the western gate and to the Mango Grove where Kūṭis (dwelling houses for monks) and the vihāras were being built. On all sides, he covered with cloth of different colours as protection from scorching heat of the sun; he then made draperies and garlands to be fixed and ordered that cloths of the five colours be spread at intervals so that the feet of the Buddha (*RIS*, I, p. 100 fn 2; *JCBRAS*, XXXII; Here the Mahāsāmī Sangharaja is meant by this term. Therefore the feet of the Buddha here indicates feet of the Saṅgharāja) should not touch the ground at any spot——Afterwards the king invited the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja to enter into retreat during the three months of the rainy season, the king offered him valuable presents——The royal gifts were as follows: 10 jyan (*RIS*, I, p. 100 fn. 3: Ancient cambodgian weight) of gold, 10 jyan of Silver, 10 lar (*RIS*, I, pp. 95 and 100: Lar is meant in Siamese by lan which signifies actually million) of Khvad (this word is unknown). 2 lar of areca, 10 boundles of civaras, bowl fuls of alms—— cushions mats——.

[1] *AMG*, vol. 27, p. 177; *HB*, III, p. 83; *UCHC*, I, part II, p. 754
[2] ibid, I, part II, p. 754.
[3] ibid, I, part II, p. 754; *RIS*, I, p. 102.
[4] *JCBRAS*, XXXII.

Śrīsraddhārājacūlāmuṇi Śrīratanalaṅkādīpa, Mahāsāmī, the grandson of Pha Muang, the chief of Mo'an Rat, who helped the father of Rāma Khamheng to establish the independent Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya.[1] He had given up his royal robes for the life of a monk. The inscription states that he meditated in the middle of the forest and lived on fruits and roots and behaved in every respect after the manner of the monks of Sīhaḷa. He is said to have visited Ceylon and having obtained two sacred relics, he returned from thence accompanied by several laymen from Ceylon. The latter are said to have taken up residence in five villages in Siam. No date has been recorded in this inscription. Coedès dates this event in the reign of Lothai (AD 1317-1347).[2] According to Reginald Le May, it took place in the reign of Luthai (AD 1347).[3] The accession of Śrī Indrāditya who was a contemporary of Pha Muang, the grandfather of Mahāthera Śrīsradhārājacūlāmuṇi Srīratanalaṅkādīpa Mahāsāmī is dated in circa AD 1238. Therefore the inscription in question could be ascribed to any one of the reigns of Indrāditya's immediate successors who were Rāma Khamheng (AD 1275- 1317), Lothai (AD 1317-1347) and Luthai (AD 1347). As several Siamese, Khmer and Pali inscriptions refer to direct religious intercourse between Ceylon and Siam during the reign of Luthai, we may agree with Reginald Le May that the Mahāthera Śrīsradhārājacū-lāmuṇi Śrīratanalaṅkādīpa Mahāsāmī belonged to the reign of Luthai.

Another undated fragmentary inscription has been found on the summit of Khau Kap in Central Siam.[4] It refers to a prince, who travelled up to the island of Laṅkā in order to find out a sacred relic (Mahāratanadhātu). The prince of the Khau Kap inscription has been identified with the prince who received the title of Mahāthera Śrīsradhārājacūlāmuṇi Srīratanalaṅkādīpa Mahāsāmī as mentioned in the inscription of the Wat Mahādhātu of Sukhodaya.[5] According to Coedès, they are one and the same person.[6] Thus the evidence of the Buddhist inscriptions of Siam makes it quite clear that the monks of Ceylon were held in high esteem and the Siamese Buddhist turned to Ceylon for religious inspiration.

The middle of the fourteenth century witnessed the rise and growth of the kingdom of Ayuthia in Southern Siam. This new

[1] *RIS*, I, pp. 49ff. [2] *LEHII*, p. 366. [3] *ACHBAS*, p. 124.
[4] *RIS*, I, pp. 145ff. [5] ibid, I, pp. 49ff; *LEHII*, p. 367. [6] ibid, p. 367.

kingdom was founded in about AD 1350 by a Thai prince who belonged to the family of the rulers of Jayasenapura (Xieng Saen) in Northern Siam.[1] He married a Mon princess of U T'ong or Uthong and after his father-in-law he became the ruler of U T'ong.[2] The capital of the kingdom was known as Dvāravatī Śrī Ayudhya (Ayuthia). The founder of the kingdom took the title of Rāmādhipati.[3] He ruled over the central and lower Menam valley i.e. Lopburi, Suvarnapura (Suphan), Rājaburi (Rātduri), Pejrāpuri (Phetburi) and Candrapuri (Canthaburi) and a greater part of the Malay Peninsula including Tenasserim, Tavoy (are now in Burma), Ligor and Singora. His rule even extended over Sukhoday in the north and Malacca in the south.[4] He was succeeded by his son Rāmasuen, the Governor of Lopburi in 1369 AD.[5] But after one year he abdicated in favour of Boromorāja or Paramarāja or Paramarājadhirāja (AD 1370-1388), his uncle. He was Boromorāja I. The Pali Annals refer to him as Banumahānāyaka.[6] Under his rule Ayuthia extended its territory further from Kamphaeng Phet to Pitsanulok and Śrī Sacbanlai or Sajjanalaya in Northern Siam.[7]

The establishment of the new kingdom at Ayuthia and the changing of the political centre of Thai power from Sukhodaya to Ayuthia marked the beginning of a new era of great cultural prosperity. Under royal patronage Buddhism flourished and Ayuthia became an important Buddhist centre. The rulers of this dynasty like the rulers of the Sukhodaya kingdom patronised cultural and religious intercourse between Ceylon and Siam and encouraged and supported the development and propagation of Sīhaḷa Buddhism in Siam. There is sufficient reason to believe that strong religious ties existed between the two countries and the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha played an important role in Siam during the Ayuthia period.

Boromorāja or Paramarāja is said to have built a residence, named the Laṅkārāma at Ayuthia, for the Siamese monks.[8] Dhammakittithera of Ayuthia and the author of the Saddhamma-saṅgha stayed at the Laṅkārāma.[9] In the Colophon to the Saddhammasaṅgha, the author says that he came to Ceylon to

[1] *LEHII*, p. 369; *AHSEA*, p. 165; *TMSEA*, p. 140.
[2] *AHSEA*, p. 176
[3] ibid, p. 165; *LEHII*, p. 370; *TMSEA*, p. 141.
[4] *AHSEA*, p. 165; *TMSEA*, p. 147.
[5] *TICS*, p. 58.
[6] ibid, p. 58.
[7] *AHSEA*, p. 166; *TMSEA*, p. 147. *ACHBAS*, p. 145.
[8] *SDS*, JPTS, 1890, p. 90.
[9] ibid, p. 90; *JKM*, pp. VII-VIII.

receive the upasampadā ordination.[1] After studying under the able guidance of the famous Sinhalese Mahāthera named Dhammakitti Mahāsāmī of Gaḍalādeṇi he returned to his native country the city of Ayuthia and stayed at the Laṅkārāma where he composed the Saddhammasaṅgha.[2] According to Dr. Malalasekera, the author of the Saddhammasaṅgha was a native of India and composed this book in India.[3] Coedès is not quite sure of the nationality of the author of this book,[4] which mentions the name of king Paramarāja who built the Laṅkārāma. There were several kings by the name of Boromorāja or Paramarāja in the dynasty of Ayuthia. Paramarāja I ruled from AD 1370 to 1388.[5] Paramarāja II ruled from AD 1424 to 1448.[6] According to Prof. Malalasekera, Dhammakitti thera held the office of Saṅgharāja in the reigns of Bhuvanekabāhu V and Virabāhu II (circa 1372-1410).[7] As Dhammakitti thera and Paramarāja I belonged roughly to the same period it is possible to conclude that Paramarāja I built the Laṅkārāma and during his reign Dhammakitti thera from Ayuthia came to Ceylon and studied under Dhammakitti Mahāsāmī in Ceylon.

An inscription, dated 750 of the small Siamese era i.e. AD 1388 written in the Thai language and belonging to the reign of Boromorāja I, refers to several monks who occupied important positions in the religious history of Siam during this period.[8] It states that Tanhaṅkāra Mahāthera became the chief monk after the death of Padumuttara Mahāthera. After Tanhaṅkāra Mahāthera Vessabhu Mahāthera occupied his place. Then the latter was succeeded by Mantrisāviṇṇanaka Mahāthera. Many monks used to live in Ayuthia at that time. Among them prominent were Sumaṅgala Mahāthera, Khemamaṅgala Mahāthera, Dharmaghosa Mahāthera, Ñāṇagambhira Mahāthera, Sumanadeva Mahāthera, Buddhavaṃsa Mahāthera, Suriya Mahāthera, Rāmarasī Mahāthera, Dharmasenāpati Mahāthera, Ānanda Mahāthera and Dharmakitti Mahāthera. It indicates that Ayuthia was a great centre of Buddhist culture and Buddhism flourished there. There was a good administration in the Saṅgha and the Saṅgharāja was its head. The monks followed the rules of the Buddhist discipline faithfully. They used to study the

1 *SDS*, p. 90.
2 ibid, p. 90; *UCHC*, I, part II, p. 794.
3 *PLC*, p. 242.
4 *BEFEO*, XV, p. 43.
5 *AHSEA*, pp. 166-167.
6 ibid, p. 168; *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 105.
7 *PLC*, p. 242.
8 *TICS*, p. 60.

Buddhist texts thoroughly. At the end of the study of the whole Tipiṭaka they used to get the title of Traipiṭaka.

The reign of Boromorāja I was an important period in the history of kingdom of Ayuthia which became the famous centre of Siam both from the political as well as from the religious point of view. After Boromorāja I, Rāmesuen, Rāma Rāja, Boromorāja II, Boromo Trailokanāth, Boromorāja III, Rāmādhipati, Boromorāja IV, Mahā Chakrap'at, Mahin, Mahā Dhammarāja, Naresuen, Indrarāja II, Śrīsudhammarāja, Narai ascended the throne of Ayuthia.[1] Some of these kings seem to have carried on the traditional Ayuthia dynasty policy of expansion within Siam and into Cambodia. They conquered Nabbisipura in Siam and Angkor in Cambodia. This period of Ayuthian history is marked with continuous warfare between the Siamese kings and the Cambodian rulers. Such a political situation in Ayuthia evidently did not give the rulers an opportunity to work for the progress of the religion. Practically they were not free to work for the religion. Therefore we do not hear much about the progress of Buddhism during this period. But from the religious history of the country it is quite clear that the rulers were followers of Buddhism.

The fifteenth century is an important period in the history of Buddhism in Siam. The Sāsanavaṃsa and the Jinakālamālī provide us with evidence relating to direct cultural relations between Ceylon and South-east Asia at this time. The Sāsanavaṁsa while discussing the introduction, establishment and the development of Buddhism in the Yonaka country,[1] relates that in the year 762 of the Kali age i.e. AD 1400 when the emperor of China[2] had conquered the whole Yonaka country, two Elders Mahādhamma-gambhira and Mahāmedhaṅkara with many other Siamese monks went to Ceylon. Being disturbed by a famine then prevailing in the island of Ceylon they returned to Sokkatanagara,[3] in Siam and from that place they went to Lakunnanagara.[4] These two Elders helped in the spread of Buddhism everywhere in Siam and the Yonaka country. According to the Sāsanavaṃsa, this is the fifth time that the religion was established in the Yonaka country. The Sāsanavaṃsa, while narrating the history of Buddhism in

[1]*AHSEA*, p. 178. [2]*Sas*, p. 50: Cinarattha.
[3]*BEFEO*, XXV, p. 184 fn. 5: Sukhodaya.
[4]Muang Khelang in Northern Siam.

Mahāraṭṭha, refers to the same story.[1] Thus the religious intercourse between Ceylon and Mahāraṭṭha and Yonakaraṭṭha was the religious intercourse between Ceylon and Siam.

The same episode is mentioned in the Jinakālamālī,[2] which states that 1967 years after the Parinibbāṇa of the Buddha i.e. in about AD 1423, twenty-five monks from Nabbisipura together with eight monks from Cambodia came to Ceylon to receive the upasampadā ordination and there they were joined by six Mon monks from the Rāmañña country. Tissarāja, who is also known as Sam Fang Ken or Sam Phang Kaen, the son of Sen Muang Ma or Saen Muang Ma or Lakkahpuragāma[3] of the city of Nabbisi reigned in the first half of the fifteenth century AD.[4] He honoured demons and worshipped wooded groves, trees, rocks, forests, spirits etc. with cattle and buffaloes.[5] In his domain many people worshipped demons. It is possible that the Siamese monks from Nabbisipura came to Ceylon to get the assistance of the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon to put an end to this state of religious affairs and to establish Theravāda Buddhism and the higher ordination in Siam. The king of Ceylon about this time was Parākramabāhu VI. The Jinakālamālī gives the name of some of the prominent Mahātheras from Nabbisipura who came to Ceylon: Mahādhammagambhīra, Mahāmedhaṅkara, Mahāñāṇamaṅgala, Mahāsīlavaṃsa, Mahāsāriputta, Mahāratanākara and Mahābuddhasāgara.[6] After their arrival in Ceylon they paid their respects to Vanaratana Mahāsāmī in Ceylon, who played a key role in the ordination ceremony at Kalyāṇī during this time. He was the Saṅgharāja of Ceylon in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI.[7] The Haṃsasandesa[8] refers to him as Vanaratana Saṅgharāja of Karagala Parivaṇa. This institution was located in Colombo district. Thirty-nine monks studied the sacred texts thoroughly and also learnt the correct manner of recital of the sacred texts from the Buddhist monks in Ceylon. The Jinakālamālī refers to an ordination ceremony held at Yāpāpaṭṭana in Kalyāṇī in Ceylon at which thirty-nine monks

[1] *PLB*, p. 8: The author of the Sāsanavaṃsa identifies Mahāraṭṭha with Siam.

[2] *BEFEO*, XXV, pp. 49ff; *TSGEC*, p. 129.

[3] *TGSEC*, p. XXXVIII: Lakkha is Saen, in Thai; 100,000 in English. Pura is Muang in Thai; city in English. Agama is mā in Thai, coming in English. It is the name of a king.

[4] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 30.

[5] ibid, XXV, p. 49.

[6] ibid, XXV, p. 49; *TSGEC*, p. 129.

[7] *PLC*, p. 248.

[8] *HS*, vv. 183-197.

were ordained in the presence of a Chapter consisting of twenty Mahātheras of Ceylon.[1] This ceremony took place 1968 years after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha i.e. in AD 1424. Vanaratana Mahāsāmī and the Elder Dhammācariya acted as Kammavācācariya and upajjhāya respectively.[2] The Girasandesa, a Sinhalese book, refers to a certain Dhammācariya.[3] He is said to have been the chief monk at Koṭṭe.

The upasampadā ordination of the Siamese monks was held in Ceylon but the Ceylon chronicles make no mention of any such event. Such events are not important for Ceylon's religious history. That is why the Ceylon chronicles are silent on this subject. Although there is no reference to it in Ceylon sources it would seem that the Jinakālamālī presents accurate information regarding Siam's religious and cultural relations with Ceylon in the first half of the fifteenth century AD. The Sāsanavaṃsa also refers to it, although the date of the visit of the Siamese monks to Ceylon given in the Sāsanavaṃsa is earlier than the Jinakālamālī. Therefore this Burmese evidence would help to confirm the arrival of the Siamese monks in Ceylon to receive the upasampadā ordination in the first half of the fifteenth century as narrated in the Jinakālamālī.

There are different opinions regarding the exact location of Yāpāpaṭṭana of Jinakālamālī, where the ordination was held. The contemporary Sinhalese literature makes it quite clear that Jaffna was known as Yāpāpaṭuna in the fifteenth century AD. It cannot be Jaffna because Jaffna was not at that time under the rule of Parākramabāhu VI. It came under his rule in the latter part of his reign i.e. in AD 1447 or 1448[4] and this event took place in AD 1424. The Jinakālamālī specifically mentions that it is in Kalyāṇī.[5] But in Kalyāṇī we do not know of any place by the name of Yāpāpaṭṭana. It is difficult to identify this place with any certainty. According to Prof. Paranavitana, the name of Yāpāpaṭṭana is used in Sinhalese as Yāpāpaṭuna which means the port of Yāpā or Yāvaka.[6] The name Jāva or Jāvaka is used as Yāva or Yāvaka also.[7] The Chinese name for Java is Cho-p'o, which indicates that 'v' of this word

[1] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 50; *TSGEC*, p. 130. [2] *TSGEC*, p. XXV.
[3] *GS*, vv. 54ff. [4] *UCHC*, I, part II, p. 672.
[5] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 50; *TSGEC*, p. 130. [6] *CM*, p. 120. [7] ibid, p. 120.

has sometimes changed into 'p' and it comes into Yāpa for Jāva.[1] The inscription of Khāravela in the Hāthigumpha cave refers to Yāpanāvikas i.e. mariners who went to Yāpa (Jāva).[2] So here the word yāpa is used for yāva i.e. Jāva or Jāvaka or Yāvaka.[3] The Kokilasandesa while describing Yāpāpaṭuna during its military occupation by the armies of Parākramabahu VI in AD 1450 refers to Malala (Malay) soldiers together with those of Tamil, Deluvara and Siṁhala nationality on its streets.[4] The Rājāvaliya states that Candrabhānu's soldiers were Malalas. It is probable that Yāpāpaṭṭana seems to have received its name owing to the settlement of Jāvaka (Malay) people in this region. The Jinakālamālī is devoted exclusively to the introduction and the establishment of Sīhaḷa Buddhism in Siam. From its description regarding the visit of the Siamese monks to various sacred places in Ceylon, it is clear that the author of this book had a fair knowledge of the geographical location of different places in Ceylon. It refers to the higher ordination 1968 years after the Parinibbāṇa of the Buddha i.e. 1424 AD.[5] It took place on a raft caused to be moored at Yāpāpaṭṭana in Kalyāṇī. It is quite certain that here the author does not refer to Jaffna in Northern Ceylon. It is possible that he refers to a place, which had received its name due to the settlement of Jāvaka (Malay) people.

The Kalyāṇī inscriptions mention that when Suvaṇṇasobhana received the upasampadā ordination, the Udakukkhepasīmā was arranged on the great lake in Colombo. In AD 1476 during the reign of Dhammaceti the Burmese monks who visited Ceylon received the Sinhalese form of the upasampadā ordination from the Sīhaḷa Mahātheras within a consecrated boundary of the Kalyāṇī river near Colombo. These two events took place in the fifteenth century and on both occasions the Udakukkhepasīmā was arranged in or near Colombo. Therefore we may not be wrong in concluding that the upasampadā ordination of the Siamese monks was held near Colombo. According to Prof. Jayawickrama, "Probably the port of Colombo which was virtually in the hands of Muslim traders. Evidence is insufficient to identify it conclusively as Colombo as it might equally refer to a trading post on the Kalyāṇī River and a

[1] *BEFEO*, IV, pp. 264-265. [2] *CM*, p. 120. [3] ibid, p. 120.
[4] *KS*, v. 251. [5] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 50; *TSGEC*, p. 130.

river lends itself easier to an Udakukkhepasīmā than the sea. In the case of the Kalyāṇī upasampadā taken to Burma (Pegu) the ordination ceremony was held in the Colombo (Beira) lake."[1]

After receiving the ordination the thirty-nine monks visited and worshipped the sacred Tooth Relic, the Śrī Pāda and the sixteen sacred shrines.[2] For fear of an impending famine in Ceylon they returned home accompanied by two Sinhalese Mahātheras Mahāvikkamabāhu and Mahāuttamapañña. They took with them a sacred relic of the Buddha. After their arrival at Ayojjhapura or Ayuthia in Southern Siam they were received by the king and the two Mahātheras Saddhammakovida and Sīlavisuddhi received their ordination at the hands of these Mahātheras.[3] Then they toured throughout Northern Siam visiting Śrī Sachanlai, Sukhodaya, Haripuñjaya, Khelaṅganagara (Lampang),[4] Jāmrayapura (Xieng Rai), Nabbisipura and even Jayasenapura (Xieng Saen) and they ordained the local monks and established the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in Siam. The Jinakālamālī states that after spending the second, third, fourth and fifth vassa seasons at Ayuthia and other places, they reached Śrī Sachanlai, where a thera named Buddhasāgara received his ordination at their hands.[5] From there they arrived in Sukhodaya 1973 years after the Parinibbāṇa of the Buddha i.e. in 1429 AD and they spent the sixth vassa season there.[6] Then they came to Nabbisipura in AD 1430 and stayed in the Rattavanamahāvihāra or Wat Pa Daeng Luang where they spent the seventh and eighth

[1]*TSGEC*, p. 130 fn. 1.

[2]ibid, p. 49 fn. 1: "The stanzas of homage of cetiyas, where the solasamahāthānāni are enumerated:

Mahiyaṅgaṇaṁ Nāgadīpaṁ Kalyāṇim Padalāñchanaṁ
Divāguhaṁ Dīghavāpī-cetiyañ ca Mutiṅgaṇaṁ
Tissamahāvihārañ ca Bodhiṁ Maricavaṭṭiyaṁ
Suvaṇṇamālī mahācetyaṁ Thūpārāma—' bhayāgiriṁ
Jetavanaṁ Selacetyaṁ tathā Kācaragāmakaṁ
ete soḷasa ṭhānāni ahaṁ vandāmi muddhanā."

——Mahiyaṅgana, Nāgadīpa, Kalyāṇī, Samantakūṭa, Divāguha, Dīghavāpī, Mutiyaṅgaṇa (in Badulla), Tissamahāvihāra (Tissamahārāma in Mahagāma, Rohana), the Bodhi tree, Maricavatti-cetya, Ratanavāluka (Mahāthupa), Thupārāma, Abhayagiri, Jetavana, Selacetiya (9 to 15, all in Anuradhapura), and Kājaragāma (in Rohaṇa).

[3]*TSGEC*, p. 131; *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 50.

[4]ibid, p. 131: It is also known as Khelang even now.

[5]ibid, p. 131; *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 50. [6]ibid, p. 131; *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 50.

vassa seasons.[1] Then they came to Khelāṅganagara in AD 1432 and for the first time they performed the upasampadā ordination at the ferry on the Vaṅkanadī to the north-east of the city.[2] The next proceeded to Haripuñjaya. There Dhammarakkhita, Dhammaratana and Ñāṇabodhi received the upasampadā ordination at Haripuñjayatiṭṭha or at the ford of Haripuñjaya on the Biṅganadī.[3] There they performed the act of higher ordination for the second time. Afterwards they performed their third and fourth upasampadā ordinations at the ford of Nārikerayāṅga or Nāḷikerayāṅga and at the ford of Kumbhāmāpanna.[4] They then came to Jayasenapura in AD 1433. They conferred the upasampadā ordination on the local monks and founded the Rattavanamahāvihāra at the north-east of the town. Then they reached Jāmrayapura and performed the upasampadā ordination there.[5] Afterwards many monks in Nabbisipura received thc upasampadā ordination in the reign of Tissarāja (AD 1401-1442).[6]

An inscription in Pali on a stone slab dated 1970 years after the Parinibbāṇa of the Buddha i.e. in about AD 1426 or 1427 has been found in Sukhodaya.[7] In states that Sri Sumedhaṅkara Saṅghanāyaka, the disciple of Sri Sumedhaṅkara Saṅgharāja by the order of the king Śrī Sūryavaṃsa Paramapāla Mahādhammarājādhirāja, the son of Dhammarājādhirāja, has engraved the Buddhapāda on the stone slab which was brought to Sukhodaya by the Mahāthera Vidyāvaṃsa.[8] It also mentions that it resembled "the monument of the sacred Foot which was manifested by the Supreme Lord of the world on the summit of the Samantakūṭa Parvata, the jewelled crown of the island of Laṅkā."[9] This inscription would help to confirm the visit paid by the Siamese monks to Ceylon in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI. Medhaṅkara Mahāthera visited Ceylon with the Siamese monks to receive the upasampadā ordination in AD 1423. According to Coedès.[10] Śrī Sumedhaṅkara mentioned in the inscription is Mahāmedhaṅkara of the Sāsanavaṃsa[11] and of the Jinakālamālī.[12] The Jinakālamālī

[1]*BEFEO*, XXV, p. 50. [2]ibid, XXV, p. 50.
[3]ibid, XXV, p. 50; *TSGEC*, p. 132. Binganadi is also known as Mae Phing.
[4]*BEFEO*, XXV, p. 50; *TSGEC*, p. 132. [5]ibid, XXV, p. 51; ibid, p. 133.
[6]ibid, XXV, p. 51; ibid, p. 133. [7]*RIS*, I, pp. 151ff.
[8]ibid, p. 153. [9]ibid, p. 153. [10]ibid, p. 152.
[11]*Sas*, p. 50. [12]*BEFEO*, XXV, p. 49; *TSGEC*, p. 129.

states that the Siamese monks after receiving the ordination in Ceylon and after visiting different cities in Siam reached Sukhodaya where they spent the sixth vassa season and the date of arrival in Sukhodaya would fall in AD 1429. The date of the inscription is AD 1426 or 1427 and the establishment of the sacred Buddhapāda took place during this period.[1] According to Prof. Paranavitana,[2] the Buddhapāda was established by Medhaṅkara on his previous visit. There is a gap of about ten years between the date of this inscription and the date of the arrival of the Siamese monks in Sukhodaya as narrated in the Jinakālamālī. However, this cannot be considered as a serious discrepancy. The suggestion made by Prof. Paranavitana that the Buddhapāda was established by Medhaṅkara on his previous visit is also possible. According to the chronology of the rulers of Sukhodaya, Dhammarāja (T'ammarāja) IV, who ascended the throne of Sukhodaya in AD 1419 was the ruler during this period.[3] As the date of the inscription falls within this period, Suryavaṃsa Paramapāla Mahādhammarājādhirāja of the inscription can be identified with Dhammarāja IV.

After Tissarāja his son named Tilokarāja or Tilakarāja (AD 1442-1487) played an important role in the development of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in Northern Siam.[4] He was a devout Buddhist. "He was endowed with heroism, valour, prowess and splendour, was capable of discerning what is beneficent to one's self and others, was prudent, faithful and pious and was possessed of profound wisdom. From the time of receiving the consecration he was renowned in all quarters as the Universal Monarch Siridhamma, the Emperor Tilaka.[5] His reign has been described as the Golden Age of art, literature and religion in Nabbisipura.[6] The Jinakālamālī refers to the higher ordination of 500 clansmen at the Mahāsṭhāna ford on the Biṅganadī by the Elders Medhaṅkarañāṇa and Maṅgalasīlavaṃsa under the patronage of the king.[7] The king conferred upon the Elder Medhaṅkara the title of Atulasaktyādhikaraṇamahāsāmī, 'the Great Sage of Incomparable Powers of Justice.'[8] The king entered the Saṅgha in AD 1447 for sometimes and with the permission of his teacher he assumed office again as king.[9] The

[1] *RIS*, I, p. 153. [2] *JCBRAS*, XXXII, no. 85. [3] *AHSEA*, p. 886.
[4] *TMSEA*, p. 150. [5] *TSGEC*, pp. 133-134. [6] *BEFEO*, XV, p. 39.
[7] *TSGEC*, p. 134. [8] ibid, p. 136; *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 52.
[9] ibid, p. 136; ibid, XXV, p. 52.

Elder Somacitta established the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in the Khemaraṭṭha or Khema kingdom in AD 1448.[1] The king built one uposatha hall at the Rattavanamahāvihāra or Wat Pa Daeng Luang in AD 1451 and it was sanctioned as a sīmā.[2] Here the higher ordination was held annually for monks belonging to the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha of the whole kingdom of Nabbisipura. In 1455 AD a seedling grown from a seed from the southern branch of the Mahābodhi tree at Anurādhapura was planted at the Mahābodhārāma or Wat Cet Yod at Nabbisipura.[3] By the order of the king, Sīhaḷagotta, the king's general rebuilt the Rājakūṭa 'royal pavilion' near Nabbisipura.[4] The Poṅsāvadān Yonok or 'A History of Northern Siam' mentions him as Mun Dam Phra Khot.[5] It states that he went to Ceylon to obtain models of the Lohapāsāda and Ratanamālicetiya. The term Sīhaḷagotta means 'of the Sīhaḷa clan.' It is possible that this minister was a Sinhalese and therefore was employed in this mission. This minister enshrined at the Rājakūṭa the sacred relic which was brought in AD 1424 from Ceylon by the Elder Mahādhammagambhīra.[6] It is said that Tilakarāja convoked a great Council in the Mahābodhi Ārāma at Nabbisipura in AD 1475 to revise the Pali scriptures. This Council is known as the Eighth Buddhist Council in the history of Buddhism in Siam.[7] It was attended by many learned monks in Siam and it continued for one year. The Saṅgītivaṃsa or the Saṅgītiyavaṃsa or the History of the Recitals, which was written by Vimaladhamma, the Thai Royal Teacher, in AD 1789 in the reign of Rāma I (AD 1782-1809) at Bangkok, refers to nine Buddhist Councils.[8] The author of this book, states further that of these nine Buddhist Councils, in India the first three were held, the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh in Ceylon and the eighth and ninth in Siam. This Eighth Buddhist Council gave an impetus to scholastic activities in Siam.

After the death of Tilakarāja, his grandson the Emperor of Jāmrāya (Xieng Rai) ascended the throne of Nabbisipura in 1487 AD.[9] He had constructed Tapodārāma, Wat Rampung in 1492 AD. He with the help of the Elder Vaḷuvana and the great Elders Ñāṇabodhi Mahāsāmī, Surasiha, Nārada and Saddhammasaṇṭhira

[1] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 52; *TSGEC*, p. 133. The Shan states.
[2] ibid, XXV, p. 53; ibid, p. 138.
[3] ibid, p. 139; *PFV*, 1965, p. 185.
[4] ibid, p. 140; *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 53.
[5] *TSSJ*, I, pp. 81-82.
[6] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 53; *TSGEC*, p. 140.
[7] Bapat, p. 46.
[8] *BEFEO*, XIV, pp. 1ff.
[9] *TSGEC*, p. 147.

is said to have purified a Khaṇḍasīmā[1] at the Upari-ārāma monastery, or Wat Bon in Northern Siam in about AD 1493.

Then the Emperor Tilakapanattu, 'Great-grandson of Tilaka', who was the son of the Emperor of Jaṁrāya, ascended the throne of Nabbisipura at the age of thirteen in 1495.[2] He enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. He is regarded as one of the greatest kings of Siam and his reign is regarded as a glorious one for many reasons. He played a vital role in the history of Buddhism in Nabbisipura and his efforts were largely responsible for the expansion of Buddhism and the development of the Buddhist Saṅgha in Siam at this time. That is why his reign is an important epoch in Siamese history. He was a devout Buddhist and under his noble patronage not only Nabbisipura but whole Northern Siam became the centre of Buddhist activities.

In order that people of his country might follow the path of the Buddha and reach fruition in Nibbāna, king Tilakapanattu built several beautiful temples, setting up Buddha images in all of them. In AD 1497 he constructed a monastery which was called the Pubbārāma, 'the Eastern Monastery' in the village where his grandfather and father lived earlier.[3] He then built a storeyed building in the heart of the Mahāvihāra, 'Great Monastery' to establish an image of the Buddha.[4] He also installed a great Buddha statue in the uposatha hall at the Pupphārāma. At the time of its installation important ceremonies were held and he gave dāna to several thousand monks who belonged to the Sīhaḷa sect,[5] the

[1]"The area demarcated as an inner boundary within which the Vinayakammas are performed.——It is usually a suitable for a mahāsīmā and is generally a baddhasīmā. It should have a minimum seating capacity for twenty-one monks. An uposathāgāra, 'chapter house' serves the purpose of a Khandasīmā."—*TSGEC*, p. 132.

[2]ibid, p. 147. [3]ibid, p. 148. [4]ibid, p. 148.

[5]The Sīhaḷa sect the Sīhaḷabhikkhus headed by Ven. Phra Mahādhamma-gambhīra Thera and Ven. Phra Medhaṅkara who were ordained in Ceylon brought the Sinhalese upasampadā to Nabbisipura and established it there. "Tasmiṁ Nabbisipurasmiṁ kārente Tissarājini Medhaṅkarādayo therā Laṅkādīpā idhāgamuṁ."——meaning "When king Tissa was reigning in the city of Nabbisipura (Xieng Mai), the Elders headed by the Ven. Medhaṅkara came to Nabbisipura from the Island of Laṅkā." (*TSGEC*, p. XLIV). The Rattavana-mahāvihāra, Wat Pa Daeng Luang, was the principal monastery of monks belonging to the Sīhaḷa fraternity. *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 119 fn. 1.

Nagaravāsīgaṇa[1] and the Pupphārāmavāsīgaṇa.[2] Among the three fraternities, the Sīhaḷa sect became very prominent in Siam. In all ecclesiastical acts of Sīhaḷa sect took the leading part and performed the acts first and afterwards the other fraternities participated in them.

The Emperor Tilakapanattu in AD 1515 visited the city of Jayasena in Northern Siam and invited the three fraternities to assemble together there. The Sīhaḷa fraternity which was led by the chief thera of the Bodhirāma monastery and forming a Chapter of 108, went first aboard the flotilla of boats tied together on the upper end of the river at the islet of Pallaṅkadīpa[3] and conferred the higher ordination on 235 clansmen at the Udakukkhepasīmā. Immediately afterwards the Nagaravāsī Chapter and the Pupphārāmavāsī Chapter conferred the ordination on 370 and 1011 clansmen respectively.[4] In AD 1518 the king conferred the title of Rājaguru, 'Royal Teacher' on the Mahāsāmī of the Rattavanamahāvihāra.[5] The conferring of the title of Rājaguru on the Mahāsāmī of the Sīhaḷa sect by the king indicates the importance of the Sīhaḷa sect in Siam in the sixteenth century AD.

The Emperor enclosed the Mahādhātu cetiya with a wall of silver and covered it with pure gold. He also constructed the Mahādhātu cetiya in Haripuñjaya and for the protection of the Mahādhātucetiya he fortified the city of Haripuñjaya with a solid stone wall.[6] He had constructed a bridge at the Mahāsthāna ford and gave presents consisting of bright silken robes of Kāsi both white and dyed and food to monks of the three fraternities upon that bridge in AD 1516.[7]

The Emperor Tilakapanattu patronised the Buddhist scholars

[1]The Nagaravāsīgaṇa-the native sect is understood to have been originated at the time of the Ven. Sona thera and the Ven. Uttara thera (*TSGEC*, p. XLIV). The Nagaravāsī probably stayed in a monastery in the heart of the city. *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 119 fn. 1.

[2]The Pupphārāmavāsīgaṇa—the Rāmañña sect was established by the Ven. Phra Sumana Thera of the Institute of the Ven. Mahāsāmī Udumbara of Ceylon. (*TSGEC*, p. XLIV). The Ven. Sumana Thera stayed at the Ambāvanārāma, Mongo Grove Monastery, at Sukhodaya. At the request of king Kilanā or Kuenā of Nabbisipura he went to Nabbisipura and stayed there at Wat Pupphārāma, Wat Suan Dok, the temple of flower garden. (*TSGEC*, p. XLIV: wat is temple; Suan is garden; and Dok is flower). The monastery of the Pupphārāma was Pupphārāma.

[3]*TSGEC*, p. 126 fn. 2: Now it is known as Kau Luang.

[4]ibid, p. 154; *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 60.

[5]ibid, pp. 171-172; ibid, XXV, pp. 64-66. [6]*TSGEC*, p. 159. [7]ibid, p. 159.

and religious institutions during this period. The flourishing condition of Buddhism and the existence of several well-organised educational and religious institutions in the country gave an impetus to scholastic activities in Siam. There were many Buddhist scholars in Siam at this time. Among them Abhayasārada Mahāthera, Sumaṅgala Mahāthera, Brahmadatta Mahāthera, Ñāṇasiddhi Mahāthera, Suriya Mahāthera, Dhammavaṃsa Mahāthera, Dipaṅkara Mahāthera, Ānanda Mahāthera, Sahassaraṁsī Mahāthera, Sarabhaṅga Mahāthera, Vajrapañña Mahāthera, Ñāṇamaṅgala Mahāthera, Ñāṇālaṃkara Mahāthera, Ratanapañña Mahāthera, Sīlavilasa Mahāthera, Upagutta Mahāthera were the most important figures in the religious history of Siam.[1]

The Emperor Tilakapanattu died in AD 1525 at the age of forty-three. It was due to his strenuous efforts Buddhism became very popular in Siam. From the religious point of view his reign marks the apogee of the Nabbisipura dynasty. In the sixteenth century AD the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha continued to flourish in Siam. It occupied an important position in the religious history of Siam in the reign of Tilakapanattu.

After the death of Tilakapanattu his eldest son, who was known as Jeṭṭhādhipati, came to the throne of Nabbisipura in AD 1526.[2] He made valuable services to the cause of Buddhism. During his reign the Elder Mahāsarabhaṅga of the monastery of the Mahābodhi was installed by the king at the Mahāraṭṭavanavihāra, the principal monastery of the Sīhaḷa sect. He then became the Saṅgharāja.[3] Under the patronage of the king the Sīhaḷa sect made an arrangement for the performance of the ceremony of the upasampadā ordination in AD 1527.[4] Many received it at the hands of the monks of the Sīhaḷa sect. It shows the importance of the Sīhaḷa sect in Nabbisipura in the sixteenth century AD.

In the second half of the sixteenth century AD Tabinshwehti (AD 1531-1550) of the Toungoo dynasty of Burma with a large Burmese army invaded Ayuthia and Mahā Chakrap'at (AD 1549-1564), the king of Ayuthia, was extremely busy to save his country from this invasion.[5] After Tabinshwehti, Bayinnaung became the king of Pegu in Burma (AD 1551-1581). He attacked

[1] *TSGEC*, p. 152. [2] ibid, pp. 184-185. [3] ibid, p. 185.
[4] ibid, p. 185. [5] *AHSEA*, p. 264.

Ayuthia twice. On hearing of the Siamese king's possession of a few white elephants he wanted to possess one of them. 'As the possession of the white elephant was thought to be the distinctive mark of a Buddhist king,' he sent an embassy to Mahā Chakrap'at requesting him to send one of the white elephants to Pegu.[1] But he refused. Bayinnaung in AD 1563 invaded Ayuthia which after little resistance surrendered in AD 1564.[2] The Burmese king brought Mahā Chakrap'at, his queen and his younger son as hostages to Pegu and placed a son of Mahā Chakrap'at on the throne of Ayuthia as a vassal ruler under the control of a Burmese garrison.[3] Mahā Chakrap'at became a Buddhist monk in Burma. In AD 1567 he with the permission of Bayinnaung returned to Ayuthia to visit the Buddhist sacred places there. But owing to his anti-Burmese activities Bayinnaung became furious and invaded Ayuthia for the second time in AD 1569.[4] During invasion Mahā Chakrap'at had lost his life. After the war Maha Dhammarāja ascended the throne of Ayuthia in AD 1569 as a vassal ruler with the permission of Bayinnaung.[5] He reigned for twenty-two years.

The political situation in Ayuthia was not favourable towards the progress of Buddhism. Ayuthia's war with the neighbouring countries was disastrous to the cause of Buddhism, especially because Ayuthia was in a difficult position and was passing through critical days. Amidst this political unrest and the resultant religious decline important events relating to the history of Buddhism in Siam occurred. The Burmese king, Bayinnaung exercised a great influence in Ayuthia and even carried his prowess as a conqueror to Nabbisipura. Though he engaged himself in war with Ayuthia, Nabbisipura and other neighbouring regions but his contribution to the establishment of Buddhism in these foreign lands were significant. He turned his attention to the noble task of repairing the damage that had been inflicted upon Buddhism during war. In all important religious matters he was always on the side of progress. He reformed the Siamese Buddhist Saṅgha and introduced new rules in the Saṅgha for its development. He restored monasteries and built new religious buildings there. He helped Buddhism in every matter to regain its lost glory.

[1] *AHSEA*, pp. 263-269. [2] ibid, p. 267. [3] ibid, p. 267.
[4] ibid, p. 268. [5] ibid, p. 268.

After Mahā Dhammarāja, his son Pra Naret ascended the throne in AD 1590. He is known in Siamese history as Naresuen.[1] The Burmese king Nanda Bayin, the son of Bayinnaung, attacked Ayuthia for five times. But he was not successful. Naresuen attacked Pegu. He also invaded Cambodia and conquered its capital Lovek in AD 1594. This celebrated warrior had driven out his enemies and restored order in the country. He saved his country from humiliation. He established Buddhism and repaired all religious buildings.

In the seventeenth century AD Ayuthia established its contact with the western world. The European powers in order to make trade with Ayuthia came there. They were Dutch, British and Portuguese. King Phra Narai (AD 1657-1688), the younger son of Prasat T'ong welcomed them. He also established his contact with Louis XIV of France. He sent messengers twice to the court of Louis XIV for trade relations and mutual co-operation in other fields.[2] Due to the king's liberal policy all these foreign powers enjoyed free trade. The arrival of western powers, war with the neighbouring countries and internal troubles—all these factors brought so many problems before Ayuthia and they profoundly affected the course of events in the Ayuthia kingdom. The kings were busy to solve all these problems. The seventeenth century was an important period in Siam for trade and commerce. But apart from it nothing is known in Siam about the development of Buddhism during this period from the religious history of the country.

The eighteenth century AD witnessed Siam's religious intercourse with Ceylon. It opened a new chapter in relations between the two countries. The Uparāt, the younger brother of T'ai Sra, ascended the throne of Ayuthia in AD 1733. He took the title of Mahā T'ammarāja II or Mahā Dhammarāja II. He is known in Siamese history as king Boromokot also.[3] His reign has been described as a golden age in Siamese history. His relations with Burma was very friendly.[4] His reign was peaceful and prosperous. He was a pious Buddhist and was personally interested in the welfare of Buddhism. He constructed many monasteries throughout his kingdom. During his rule Ayuthia became a great centre of Buddhism and religious

[1] *AHSEA*, p. 274. [2] ibid, p. 361. [3] ibid, p. 456.
[4] ibid, p. 456.

mission from Ceylon came there to get help and assistance from the Siamese monks. Sri Vijaya Rājasiṅha of Ceylon sent his ministers and monks to the court of the king of Ayuthia for Buddhist monks. He saw that the Buddhist Saṅgha was declining and there were not many good monks in Ceylon. In order to purify it he wanted to invite monks from foreign countries where Buddhism existed in a flourishing condition. The Dutch people told him that Buddhism flourished in Pegu, Rakkhaṅnagapura and Siam.[1] Having heard of it the king sent his ministers with letters to all those places to see whether the Buddhist Saṅgha existed in pure condition there. At the request of his ministers and Saranaṁkara, a Buddhist monk, he sent two religious missions to Siam where the Buddhist Saṅgha existed not only in its purity but also in the best condition. He sent his ministers there to secure monks from the Siamese Saṅgha for an ordination ceremony.[2] The Dutch helped the king of Ceylon by lending a ship for the voyage. Two high officials of the royal court and five pupils of Saranaṁkara went with this mission. But this attempt was disastrous. The ship on its first journey was wrecked. Before the arrival of the second mission in Ceylon from Siam Śrī Vijaya Rājasiṅha died. On hearing of his death the king of Siam did not send any monk to Ceylon. Thus the Ceylonese King's attempt to restore the upasampadā ordination failed.

It is said that Śrī Vijaya Rājasiṅha's successor king Kirti Śrī Rājasiṅha sent a religious mission to king Boromokot of Siam for Buddhist monks to purify the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon.[3] Kirti Śrī Rājasiṅha was a powerful king and was a great supporter of Buddhism. When he ascended the throne of Kandy he saw that in Ceylon there were many monks who were unfit to lead the monastic life. The number of ordained monks were not sufficient for the performance of the upasampadā ceremony. The Sinhalese monks did not follow the rules of the Vinaya properly. The Cūlavaṃsa states that "king Kirti Śrī Rājasiṅha was mindful of the purity of the Order. Amongst the bhikkhus who were formerly present on the splendid island of Laṅkā, and amongst all the sāmaṇeras who had undergone the ceremony of world renunciation, were some who had fear of evil, respected the true doctrine, living in good moral

[1] *CV*, part II, ch. XCVIII, vv. 87ff.
[2] ibid, ch. XCVIII, v. 89.
[3] *AHSEA*, p. 456.

discipline, in pure fashion. Others cherished evil, were of bad moral living, followed false doctrine, took pleasure in the maintaining of woman and children and in domestic duties and devoted themselves to unseemly professions such as astrology, medical activity and the like. When the ruler heard tidings of such unprincipled bhikkhus he sought out with care from among the pious bhikkhus who were on the side of the high principles,———. With the reflection that this was the right thing to do, the ruler with his support, ordered according to precept, an investigation, took strong measures against them and had them seriously admonished that from now onwards those who had renounced the world should for ever avoid unseemly task, like astrology, medical activity and the like and should foster the study of the words of the Buddha. As the king was minded to further the Order which had fallen into decay, he strengthened the influence of the high principled and in many ways gave the Order support. The ruler was appalled at the thought that with the lack of bhikkhus on whom the ceremony of admission to the Order had been performed, the pure Order of the Victor should perish on the whole island, and with the reflection : if a ruler like myself carried on the government in the island of Laṅkā, then the Order of the Victor ought not to perish......further with the reflection : the furtherance of the Order which was not attained in the time of former rulers in spite of their sending hither and thither for bhikkhus, this will I now bring to pass, the ruler of men, the Monarch, rich in merit, since he desired a continuance of the order of the great Seer, when the year two thousand two hundred and ninety-three after the final nirvāṇa of the Prince of the Wise[1] had come......sent messengers to whom he gave besides gifts of many kinds and many sacrificial articles, a splendid royal letter, to the superb town of Ayojjha, to fetch hither sons of the Buddha."[2] The Cūlavaṃsa states that Dhammika was the king of Siam.[3] He was a pious ruler and he fulfilled the ten pāramis.[4] The Saṅgha flourished during his rule. He gave his full support for the progress

[1]About AD 1749 or 1750. [2]*CV*, part II, ch. C, vv. 44ff. [3]ibid, ch. C, v. 66.

[4]ibid, part I, ch. XXXVII, v. 180, p. 17 fn. 3 (Geiger Eng. Tran.): The ten paramis or paramitas (or perfections) are dana 'giving of alms,' sila 'leading a moral life', nekkhamma 'renunciation,' paññā 'knowledge,' viriya 'manliness', khanti 'patience,' sacca 'uprightness,' adhitthana 'will power', metta 'love', and upekkha 'serenity'.

of Buddhism. When he knew from the Sinhalese envoys that Buddhism was in a miserable state in Ceylon he atonce announced that "I will be a helper in order to achieve there the furtherance of the Order of the Enlightened One."[1] He then invited the Siamese Saṅghārāja and many other learned Buddhist monks to discuss with them about this matter and took their advice. He selected monks who were "an abode of virtues, easily satisfied and content, powered with the virtues of a life of piety and discipline" for Ceylon.[2] The names of the Siamese monks who had been selected to come to Ceylon were Upāli Mahānāyaka, Thera, Aryamuni Mahānāyaka Thera, Anu Mahāthera and the Mahātheras Indrojotassa, Chandrajotassa, Kotthita Kiyavu, Bijuna, Thuluvan, Thonsuvaṇṇana, Janna, Prakyavuthan, Lokon, Dabut, Premak, Premi and Kuruakya.[3] They were accompanied by eight sāmaneras. It is said in the Cūlavaṃsa that the king sent a Chapter consisting of a group of ten bhikkhus to Ceylon.[4] The three Siamese ambassadors also came with them. The leader of this group was Upāli Mahāthera.[5] The Siamese king sent a golden image of the Buddha, a superb golden book, a magnificient royal letter in Pali and gifts of various kinds to the king of Ceylon, who gave them a warm welcome when they reached Trincomalee, an important sea-port, in Ceylon in AD 1753. Kirti Śrī Rājasiṅha sent palanquins fitted with cushions and Mattresses as well as a supply of robes of fine cloth, with sweetmeats and rice cakes for them. These things helped them on the way. He also sent several elephants to go in front of the procession, and a group of trumpeters, drummers and other musicians. The following people who took part in the procession were Ehelapola, Mahā Adikarama; Aṅgammana, Dissave of Matale; Hulangamuva, Dissave of Uda Palata; Ellepola Kahande Mohottala, the Kodituwakku Lekama; Ellepola Mohottala, the Vedikkara Lakāma; Kahande Mohottala, the Kuruwe Lekama; Wiyalla Mohottala, Muhandiram, who was in charge of the Gabadagāma of Madulu; and Harasgāma Muhaṇḍirām Rala, of the Vedikkara Lakama.[6] Upāli Mahāthera and his group travelled in palanquins richly fitted with mats and pillows. "From the sea as far as superb Sirivaddhanapura he[7] had the road put in order and rest houses

[1] *CV*, part II, ch. C, v. 68.
[2] ibid, ch. C, v. 71.
[3] *JCBRAS*, XVIII, p. 34.
[4] *CV*, ch. C, v. 71.
[5] *JCBRAS*, XVIII, p. 34.
[6] *JCBRAS*, XVIII, p. 37.
[7] The king of Ceylon.

erected in various places. Then the ruler sent forth the Mahāsenāpati and dignitaries and made them fetch in the right order the golden image and the sacred books, the bhikkhu community and everything else. When with great pomp and great ceremony they making their way had reached the vicinity of the Mahāvālukagaṅgā which comes down from Sumanakūṭa, the ruler of the town Sirivaddhana, the ruler of men desirous of gaining the reward accruing from the festive reception of the three sacred objects,[1] the highly famed Great King intent on merit, went forth with army in piety to meet them with elephants, steeds and so forth. He showed reverences to the august Grand thera and to the others and at the same time greeted the great community. Having exchanged with them in the best way possible the customary speeches of welcome, he came with the three sacred objects at the head, to his town. In the fair Pupphārāma,[2] in a graceful brick-roofed building erected by him, in this decorated monastery he the august community of monks take up their abode. Then he provided them in fitting manner with the necessaries and charged officials to enquire day by day after their health or ill-health. The Ruler of men accepted the splendid royal letter sent by the king of Ayojjha and he made the royal envoys who had arrived and other officials take up their abode in a fitting place and showed them all the distinction to which they were entitled."[3] The Siamese monks stayed at the Malawatte vihāra in Kandy. Here lodgings had been newly erected and orders were given to provide them with all necessaries. After their arrival in Kandy Upāli Mahāthera gave upasampadā ordination to one of the sāmaṇeras who had accompanied him from Siam. Kobbyyakaduwe Unnanse, the Nayakathera of the Uposatārāma, Weliwita Unnanse, Hulanga-muwa Unnanse, Bambaradeniya Unnanse, Thibbotuwawe Unnanse and Navinne, the Nayaka Unnanse of Asgiriya received their upasampadā ordination from Upāli Mahāthera, Āryamuni Mahāthera and other theras.[4] The king played a key role for the restoration of the upasampadā ordination in Ceylon. Thus the

[1] *CV*, ch. C., v. 83, p. 281 fn. 2: a golden figure of the Buddha (Buddha), sacred books (Dhamma) and the bhikkhus with Upali at the head (Sangha).

[2] ibid, ch. C., v. 86, p. 281 fn. 3: Flower monastery, the now so-called Malava-tuvihāra situated immediately on the lake of Kandy.

[3] ibid, ch. C, vv. 79-90.

[4] *JCBRAS*, XVIII, p. 38.

upasampadā ordination was re-established in Ceylon after many years. At the end of this ceremony Upāli Mahāthera and other monks worshipped the sacred Tooth Relic and the sixteen sacred places.[1]

The Cūlavaṃsa also mentions that king Dhammika again sent a group of more than ten monks to Ceylon for the furtherance of its Saṅgha.[2] Their leaders were Visuddhacariya, "who was an abode for the virtue of a life lived in discipline, whose ornaments were faith and other virtues, who was a mine of virtue and the capable," and Varanamuni, who was also a learned thera.[3] They stayed at Malawatte vihāra in Kandy. Kirti Śrī Rājasiṅha was greatly moved by the timely help of the Siamese king who not only sent monks to Ceylon twice but also gave books of every kind which were not available in Ceylon. The king of Ceylon in return sent also valuable presents such as a model of the Tooth Relic fashioned out of a costly jewel, a shell curved towards the right[4] and also various other things to the king of Siam. The envoys went with these presents, and a royal letter and the Siamese monks who wanted to go back to their own country.[5] The Siamese king received the envoys with great honour. He also gave over to the Ceylonese ambassadors many valuable books, model of the sacred foot-print, gifts for the Tooth Relic, costly presents for the king of Ceylon and a royal letter.[6] Thus Kirti Śrī Rājasiṅha purified the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon with the help of the Siamese monks. A sect known as the Siyāma sect or the Siyāmagāma sect or the Siyāmopāli sect was established in Ceylon at that time. This was no doubt a notable event in Ceylon-Siam relations. From the eleventh century AD onwards Ceylon and its Buddhist Saṅgha played a great role in the history of Buddhism in South-east Asia. Whenever the Buddhist countries in South-east Asia were in trouble regarding their religious affairs they sought Ceylon's help and Ceylon willingly offered maximum assistance to solve their problems. But in the eighteenth century AD we see that Siam helped Buddhism and its Saṅgha in Ceylon. Thus Siam repaid its religious debt which it owed to Ceylon.

[1] *CV*, ch. C, v. 128.
[2] ibid, ch. C, vv. 137-140.
[3] ibid, ch. C, vv. 137-140.
[4] Such shells are very rare and precious. Their possessor is supposed to be exceedingly lucky.
[5] *CV*, ch. C, vv. 149-155.
[6] *CV*, ch. C, vv. 160-161.

King Boromokot died in AD 1758. His son ascended the throne of Ayuthia. He was known in Siamese history as Boromorāja V (AD 1758-1767).[1] He was the last king who ruled at Ayuthia. The Burmese king Alaungpaya (AD 1752-1760) attacked Ayuthia and destroyed it in AD 1767.[2] In the midst of such unsettled state of affairs General Phaya Tak Sin, a Siamese leader of Chinese origin, stood against the Burmese invaders and defeated them. He was known in Siamese history as the Saviour of Siam.[3] He drove out the Burmese invaders and established his capital at Ratburi near Bangkok. He re-united Siam and restored order in the country. But he could not rule for a very long time. During this political unrest Buddhism was in a neglected condition. Laxity of monastic discipline was in evidence in the Siamese Saṅgha. Phaya Tak Sin wanted to enforce the Vinaya rules rigidly. But his countrymen did not appreciate his religious policy. He became very unpopular and was dethroned in AD 1782.[4]

The fall of Ayuthia took place in AD 1767. The repeated invasions of the Burmese had compelled the Siamese rulers to leave Ayuthia and to establish a new capital at Bangkok which continues to be the capital of Siam even in modern age. It opened a new era in the history of Siam. General Chakri, who was known as Rāma I (AD 1782-1809), was the founder of the present reigning dynasty at Bangkok.[5] Buddhism continued to flourish under the patronage of its rulers.

Vilbagedara Nayida, the leader of the Sinhalese mission to Siam in the eighteenth century AD, states that a Bodhi tree seen at Muan Lakon (Nakhon Si Thammarāt, modern Ligor) was taken from Anurādhapura at the request of king Dharmāśoka, the younger.[6]

[1]*AHSEA*, p. 456. [2]ibid, p. 456, [3]ibid, p. 457.
[4]ibid, p. 463. [5]ibid, p. 463.

[6]Vilbagedara Nayidā, one of the leaders of Kirti Śrī Rājasiṅha's mission, visited Siam. He wrote an account of his visit to Siam after his return to Ceylon. He describes: "On Saturday the third day of the bright half of the month of Durutu (December 7, 1751), water leaked into the ship at numerous points from the lion figure in front of the ship down to the steering rudder at the bottom. On Tuesday the thirteenth day of the bright half of the same month, when they were about to reach Muan Lakon, a region that belonged to Siam, the ship sank in the mud. All on board landed in the district called Muan Lakon." It was here that the Bodhi tree was found: *CJHSS*, 2, 37-80.

This sapling of the Bodhi tree from Anuradhapura seems to have been planted at Muan Lakon during the reign of Dharmāśoka, who can be assigned to the sixteenth century AD. This is referred to in an eighteenth century document found in Ceylon. There is evidence to show that a king by the name of Dharmāsokaraja reigned in the sixteenth century AD. An inscription belonging to the sixteenth century AD found on the pedestal of an image of an image of Śiva at Kambaeng Pejra on Kamphaeng Phet in Central Siam refers to the ruler named Dharmāśokarāja.[1] Prof. Paranavitana is of opinion that Dharmāśoka, the younger of the description of Vilbagedara Nayidā and Dharmāśokarāja of the inscription of Siam at Kamphong Phet are probably one and the same person.[2]

The Dvāravatī kingdom played an important role in the political and religious history of Siam up to the first half of the eleventh century AD. Theravāda Buddhism flourished in this region. In the eleventh century the domination of several regions of the Menam valley in Lower Siam by the Khmer empire of Cambodia brought Mahāyānism and Brahmanism there. Although various religions existed at this time Buddhism maintained its importance and popularity in Lower Siam. The upper Menam valley was ruled by the Mon people of the Haripuñjaya kingdom and was a centre of Theravāda Buddhism. Before Siam came into contact with Ceylon, the Mon people of Haripuñjaya were responsible for the popularisation of Theravāda Buddhism in Siam. The characters of several Mon inscriptions of the thirteenth century found at Haripuñjaya, which are identical with those of the Mon inscriptions of Burma between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries indicate that close cultural links existed between Northern Siam and Burma. The Thais established the first independent kingdom of Sukhodaya in Central Siam in the second half of the thirteenth century AD. This period witnessed Siam's contact with Ceylon through the medium of Siridhammanagara (Ligor) in the Malay Peninsula and Burma. Both countries were in close contact with Ceylon during this period. The arrival of a Sinhalese Mahāthera in the Rāmañña country from Ceylon, the coming of a monk from Sukhodaya to the Rāmañña country to receive the upasampadā ordination at the hands of the Sinhalese Mahāthera, the request by the king of Sukhodaya for a Buddhist monk from the Sinhalese Mahāthera then in the Rāmañña

1 *RIS*, I, pp. 157ff.

2 *CM*, p. 138.

country, the Siamese monk's return to his native country from the Rāmañña country with the permission of the Sinhalese Mahāthera and the latter's contribution to the establishment and development of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in Siam—all these facts would lead us to conclude that in the first half of the fourteenth century close religious ties existed between the Buddhist Saṅghas of Ceylon, Rāmañña (Burma) and Sukhodaya, though up to this period there was no direct religious intercourse between Ceylon and Sukhodaya. The second half of the fourteenth century marked-direct religious intercourse between Siam and Ceylon and the introduction of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in Siam. The establishment of the capital at Ayuthia in about AD 1350 marked the beginning of an era of great cultural prosperity. Buddhism too flourished and friendly relations existed between Ceylon and Siam under the patronage of the Ayuthia kingdom. The religious history of Siam in the fifteenth century shows the arrival of the Siamese monks in Ceylon to study the religious texts and to receive the upasampadā ordination at the hands of the Sinhalese Mahātheras and the introduction and the establishment of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in Siam with the help of the Sinhalese Mahātheras. In the sixteenth century, the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha was flourishing in Siam. The conferring of the title of Rājaguru on the Mahāsāmī of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha by the king of Siam indicates the importance of the Sīhaḷa Saṅgha in Siam in the sixteenth century AD. In the seventeenth century, Ayuthia established its contact with the Western world. This century was an important period in Siam for trade and commerce. But apatt from it nothing is known in Siam about the development of Buddhism during this period from the religious history of the country. The eighteenth century witnessed Siam's religious intercourse with Ceylon. It opened a new chapter in relations between the two countries. The king of Ceylon purified the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon with the help of the Siamese Buddhist monks. The Siyāma sect or Siyāmagāma sect or Siyāmopāli sect was established in Ceylon in the eighteenth AD. This was no doubt a notable event in Ceylon-Siam relations.

Chapter 7

Ceylon's Religious Ties with Cambodia and Laos

THE eleventh century begins with the accession of Sūryavarman I (Śaka 924=AD 1002) on the throne of Cambodia.[1] During this period the Khmer kingdom as already observed[2] extended over the Menam valley in Central Siam,[3] where Khmer inscriptions of this period have been found.

Several inscriptions belonging to the reign of Sūryavarman I found in different places in Cambodia and even at Lavo or Lopburi on the Menam valley in Central Siam where Khmer rule prevailed, indicate the existence of various religions there.

There is evidence to show that Brahmanism flourished in Cambodia at this time. An inscription in Khmer found at Sal Cau or San Chao in Lopburi refers to certain donations to Paramavāsudeva.[4] Vāsudeva is the name of Viṣṇu. This inscription is not dated. But according to Briggs, it probably belongs to the reign of Sūryavarman I.[5] An inscription dated Śaka 944 AD 1022-25 found at Lopburi in Siam refers to the existence of Brahmanism there.[6] A fragmentary inscription in Khmer dated Śaka 961=AD 1039 found at the temple of Sek Ta Tuy in the district of Chikreng in Central Cambodia refers to a donation to a god called 'Kamrateṅ or Kamrateng Jagat Vnam Brāhmaṇa' (i.e. the god of the mountain of the Brahmanas).[7] A fragmentary inscription of Prasat Khna in the north-east of Cambodia, written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Khmer dated Śaka 963=AD 1041 refers to

[1]*TASMS*, VIII, pp. 359ff; *AHSEA*, p. 105.
The Saka are starts with 78 AD.
[2]p. 131. [3]*AHSEA*, p. 150; *TBLC*, p. 50. [4]*TAKE*, p. 160.
[5]ibid, p. 160. [6]*LEHII*, p. 232; *TASMS*, VIII, pp. 343ff.
[7]ibid, VIII, pp. 345ff; *BEFEO*, XXVIII, pp. 40-57.

an image of Krişṇa on a Garuḍa.[1]

There is evidence to show that Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished in the eleventh century under royal patronage. An inscription as mentioned earlier dated Śaka 944=AD 1022-25 found at Lopburi in Siam indicates the existence of Mahāyāna Buddhism there.[2] An inscription in Sanskrit verse found at Prah Khan or Preah Khan in Central Eastern Cambodia states "Homage to the Buddha in whom alone the word omniscient has found its real meaning, and whose words alone are found logically true."[3] This inscription although undated mentions king Sūryavarman and his victory over the previous ruler and the commencement of his reign in Śaka 924=AD 1022. An inscription written in Sanskrit and in Khmer dated Śaka 948=1026 AD refers to a Buddhist foundation be Madhurapaṇḍita and his family.[4] It begins with an invocation to the Nirmāṇakāya of the Buddha, Trailokyanātha, Vajrapāṇi and it refers to Sūryavarman I.

Theravāda Buddhism also flourished under the patronage of Sūryavarman I. A Khmer inscription dated Śaka 944=AD 1022 found at Lopburi indicates the existence of Theravāda Buddhism there.[5]

Sūryavarman I was a Buddhist as his posthumous name Nirvānapada 'one who has gone to Nirvana' indicates.[6] He showed great religious toleration during his reign. From the inscriptions referred to above it is clear that he patronised both Mahāyāna and Theravāda Buddhism as well as Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

The reign of Udayādityavarman II (AD 1050-1066),[7] the immediate successor of Sūryavarman I, marks the growth and popularity of Śaivism throughout Cambodia. All important foundations and inscriptions belonging to his reign were Śaivites. The stanzas 20 to 25 of the inscriptions of Lovek[8] refer to the erection of a Śivaliṅga on top of a mountain by king Udayādityavarman II and the appointment of Śaṅkarapaṇḍita as Guru (teacher) by the king. The Sanskrit inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, a temple which is 15 miles to the north-west of Sisophon in Northern Cambodia, commemorates the establishment of a liṅga in his reign.[9] The

[1] *TASMS*, VIII, pp. 346ff.
[2] p. 133.
[3] *TASMS*, VIII, pp. 359ff; *ICIC*, pp. 167ff.
[4] ibid, VIII, p. 344; *IC*, VI, pp. 241ff.
[5] p. 133.
[6] *BEFEO*, XV, p. 91; *TMSEA*, p. 100.
[7] ibid, p. 100; *AHSEA*, p. 106.
[8] *ISCC*, pp. 122ff.
[9] *TASMS*, VIII, pp. 362ff; *ICIC*, p. 176.

inscription of Phum Da dated Śaka 976=AD 1054 written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Khmer refers to the establishment of Śivaliṅga by an ascetic.[1] The inscription of Prasat Prah Khset, situated to the north-west of Angkor, dated Śaka 989=AD 1066 and belonging to the reign of this king, states that Saṁkarṣa, the son of Vāsudeva Dvijendravallabha and the sister of king Udayarkavarman or Udayidityavarman, restored a Śivaliṅga which the rebel Kambau or Kamvau[2] had broken.[3] It mentions that in Śaka 989 i.e. AD 1067, Saṁkarṣa transformed this liṅga to a Caturmūrti by adding the faces of Padmobhava,[4] Ambhojanetra[5] and Buddha. From the inscriptions referred to above it is clear that Śaivism was the most important and the official religion of Cambodia in the reign of Udayādityavarman II and all religious foundations were erected by the king and his subjects were Śaivites. But his reign was a troubled one. It witnessed a number of internal revolts which broke out in southern, north-eastern and western parts of the kingdom. Barth is of opinion that Kamvau's rebellion was motivated by the Śaivite leanings of the monarch.[6] D.G.E. Hall and L.P. Briggs states that internal revolts were the result of the king's hostility to Buddhism.[7] It is quite clear that the king favoured Śaivism. There is no evidence of the establishment of Buddhist monuments to Cambodia at this time. Religious feelings may have been one of the causes of the revolt and this would suggest that a large number of Buddhists were in Cambodia during this time.

The reign of Sūryavarman II (AD 1113-1150) marks the expansion of the Khmer kingdom over neighbouring countries. According to the Chinese historical work, the History of the Sung or Song,[8] the Khmer kingdom extended its rule from Champa to the borders of Pagan in the west, and to Grāhi on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula.

[1]*TASMS*, VIII, pp. 382ff: Phum Da is the name of a small village in the province of Kompong Chnam in Northern Cambodia.

[2]*TAKE*, p. 173: Kamvau was the general in the army of king Udayādityavarman II.

[3]*TASMS*, VIII, pp. 398ff; *ISCC*, pp. 173-177; *IC*, VI, pp. 293ff.

[4]ibid, VIII, p. 399; ibid, p. 176. Born from the lotus of Visnu and is the name of Brahmā.

[5]ibid, VIII, p. 399; ibid, p. 176. Lotus eyes, a name of Viṣṇu.

[6]*ISCC*, p. 174. [7]*AHSEA*, p. 106; *TAKE*, p. 175.

[9]ibid, p. 108; ibid, p. 189; *TMSEA*, p. 101.

Vaiṣṇavism was predominant in the reign of Sūryavarman II, the builder of the Angkor Wat.[1] In the central shrine of this temple was a golden statue of Viṣṇu on a Garuḍa, identified with Sūryavarman II who was defined as Viṣṇu.[2] The predominance of several Vaiṣṇava scenes in the bas-reliefs of the Angkor Wat and the reference to the king as Paramaviṣṇuloka, 'one who has gone to the supreme sojourn with Viṣṇu,'[3] indicates that the Angkor Wat was a Viṣṇu temple and the builder of this temple, king Sūryavarman II was Vaiṣṇavite. But Śaivism was also important during this time.[4] Several Śaivite scenes in the bas-reliefs of the Angkor Wat also indicate the prevalence of Śaivism there. The Sanskrit inscription of Ban Thet or That in Eastern Cambodia mentions the establishment of a liṅga on Mount Bhadreśvara.[5]

The second half of the twelfth century witnessed the growing importance of Buddhism in Cambodia. The king who ruled during this time was Dharaṇīndravarman II (AD 1150-1160). He was a Buddhist.[6] The Ta Prohm inscription of Jayavarman VII, dated Śaka 1108=AD 1186 written in Sanskrit found near Angkor Thom in Northern Cambodia refers to Dharaṇīndravarman II.[7] It states, "Having obtained satisfaction in the nectar-like teachings of the moon of the Śākya race,[8] having devoted his life to the service of Bhikkhus, Brahmans, and others who asked for his help, desiring to extract the essence (of life) with the aid of this impure and unsubstantial body, he adored ceasefully the feet of the Jina."[9]

The middle of the twelfth century is significant from the point of view of the political and cultural history of the country. It marked the beginning of Cambodia's political and cultural connections with Ceylon. There is no evidence regarding any cultural contact between the two countries.[10] The Ceylon chronicles and inscriptions do not make any reference to Cambodia until about the twelfth century AD. The Cūlavaṃsa mentions Cambodia in the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great.[11] It relates that the king of Rāmañña arrested and imprisoned the Ceylonese envoys pretending that they were sent to Kambuja and also seized a princess of the royal blood

[1] ibid, p. 108; ibid, p. 101.
[2] ibid, p. 110; *TAKE*, p. 193.
[3] *TMSEA*, p. 101.
[4] *AHSEA*, p. 110.
[5] *TAKE*, p. 193; *ICIC*, p. 186.
[6] *IC*, VI, p. 275; *TMSEA*, p. 106.
[7] *TASMS*, VIII, pp. 459ff.
[8] Family of the Buddha.
[9] *ICIC*, p. 213.
[10] *CJHSS*, 3, No. 1, 1960, p. 54.
[11] *CV*, ch. LXXVI, vv. 20-25.

whom the lord of Laṅkā had sent to the country of Kambuja.[1] Details of the war between Burma and Ceylon and its reasons and results are narrated in the Cūlavaṃsa.[2] It is possible that Cambodia came into the picture during the war between Burma and Ceylon due to political reasons. As mentioned earlier[3] the reign of Sūryavarman II witnessed the growth and expansion of the Khmer kingdom at the expense of neighbouring countries. Under his rule Cambodia extended its border up to the frontier of Pagan. Burma no doubt feared the growing power of Cambodia and probably relations between them were strained due to that reason. During this time Ceylonese envoys and merchants appear to have travelled to Cambodia through Burma. So it was easy for the Burmese king to stop that connection between Ceylon and Cambodia by blocking the land route through Burma. The Ceylonese chronicles do not give specific details of political and cultural contact between the two countries. But the account of the Cūlavaṃsa indicates the existence of close political and cultural connections between them during this time. Probably the king of Ceylon sent the Ceylonese princess as a bride for Jayavarman VII, the son of Dharanindra-varman II, who was the crown prince about this time.

The reign of Jayavarman VII (AD 1181-1218)[4] is an important period in the history of Buddhism in Cambodia. Jayavarman VII encouraged and supported its propagation and development in Cambodia. From several inscriptions belonging to his reign it is clear that during his reign, Buddhism grew in importance there. All inscriptions of Jayavarman VII make it quite clear that the king patronised Mahāyāna Buddhism and he and his family were followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[5]

The Kalyāṇī inscriptions[6] as mentioned earlier state that Chapaṭa, the Talaing monk from Burma having received the upasampadā ordination at the hands of the Sinhalese Mahātheras of Ceylon returned to Pagan, accompanied by four other theras in AD 1181. One of the theras who came to Burma with Chapaṭa was the son of the king of Cambodia. The Kalyāṇī inscriptions and the Glass Palace Chronicle refer to him as Shin Tāmalinda from

[1] *CV*, ch. LXXVI, vv. 20-23 and 35.
[2] ibid, ch. LXXVI, vv. 15-75.
[3] p. 176.
[4] *AHSEA*, pp. 116 and 875.
[5] *TASMS*, VIII, pp. 459ff; *BEFEO*, XXV, pp. 372ff; *BEFEO*, III, pp. 18-33.
[6] *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 29.

Cambodia.[1] The king of Ceylon was Parakramabāhu the Great. Strangely enough no Cambodian source makes any reference to the visit of a Cambodian prince to Ceylon in the twelfth century AD. According to Coedès, Shin Tāmalinda was probably the son of king Jayavarman VII.[2] This is a possibility of which we cannot be certain.

There is evidence to show that in the reign of Niśśaṁkamalla of Ceylon friendly relations existed between Ceylon and Cambodia. King Niśśaṁkamalla in his inscriptions mentions that he maintained friendly relations with this country.[3] Another inscription belonging to his reign found near the Ruvanvali dāgoba at Anurādhapura refers to a class of bird-catchers known as Kāmbodī.[4] It states that the king gave them gold and cloth and other provisions and requested them not to catch birds any more.[5] Prof. Paranavitana is of the opinion that Kāmbodī or Kāmbojī mentioned in the inscriptions are Cambodians or Khmer people from Cambodia.[6] But it is difficult to come to any conclusion about the date of their arrival in Ceylon and why they came to this island. Bell says that they were Cambodian mercenary soldiers employed by the king of Ceylon.[7] One of the gates of the city of Poḷonnaruva was also known as Kamboja-vasala (Cambodian Gate) in the twelfth-century AD.[8] Perhaps the gate was thus named because there was a Khmer settlement in this part of the city.

In the thirteenth century AD in the reign of the successor of Jayavarman VII, Cambodia lost its control over several regions of the Menam valley as noticed earlier.[9] During this period the political supremacy of Cambodia over the Thais or Siamese came to an end. A Chinese mission from the Mongol-Chinese ruler Timur Khan, Kublai Khan's grandson and successor,[10] arrived in Cambodia in the reign of Indravarman III (AD 1295), the son-in-law of Jayavarman VIII.[11] One of the members of this mission was Chou Ta-Kuan.[12] He gives an account of the social, political and religious conditions of Cambodia during this period. He mentions that three distinct religious sects existed in Cambodia i.e. Pan-ki,

[1] *GPC*, p. 143; *IA*, XXII, 1893, p. 29. [2] *LEHII*, p. 299.
[3] *EZ*, II, p. 152; and p. 156; *ASCAR*, 1911-1912, pp. 101-102.
[4] *EZ*, II, pp. 70ff. [5] ibid, p. 83; *AIC*, p. 127. [6] *CM*, p. 109.
[7] *ARASC*, 1903, p. 16. [8] ibid, p. 16; *EZ*, II, p. 74. [9] pp. 132-133.
[10] *AHSEA*, p. 120. [11] *BEFEO*, II, pp. 123-177. [12] ibid, pp. 123-177.

Pa-sseu-wai and Teh'ou-kou or Chu-ku.[1]

The Pan-ki have been identified with Brāhmaṇa.[2] The Pa-sseu-wei have been identified with Pāśupatas, who worship Śiva or the liṅga.[3] The Chu-ku have been identified with Buddhist monks.[4] Pelliot says that Buddhist monks in Siam are known as Chu-ku and the meaning of the word is Sir or Lord.[5] According to Coedès, the word Chu-ku is a Siamese term.[6] Eliot is of opinion that the name by which the Cambodian monks are known is Siamese.[7] From the description of the Chinese envoy it is clear that this sect occupied an important position in Cambodia in the thirteenth century AD. According to Chou Ta-kuan, the prince consulted this sect in grave affairs. According to D.G.E. Hall and L.P. Briggs, the Chu-ku are Hinayāna monks.[8] During this period they were known purely by a Siamese name which might indicate the influence of Siam on the religion of Cambodia.

There is evidence to show that Theravāda Buddhism existed in Cambodia in the fourteenth century AD. An inscription dated Śaka 1230=AD 1308 has been found in a temple called Wat Yok Khpos or Kok Svay Chek near Siemreap in Central Cambodia.[9] It is written partly in Pali and partly in Khmer with the Khmer version

[1]*BEFEO*, II, pp. 148-151.

[2]ibid, II, p. 148; *TMSEA*, p. 194. Thay-Sok, Traites de Morales des Cambodigions du XIV du XIX siecle, Paris, p. 156: The exact meaning of Pan-ki is letter or scholar or educated person.

[3]ibid, II, p. 148.

[4]ibid, II, p. 148; *TMSEA*, p. 194; *AHSEA*, p. 120; *TAKE*, p. 248.

'The Chu-ku shave the head, wear yellow clothing and leave the right shoulder uncovered. For the lower part of the body, they wear a skirt of yellow cloth and go bare foot. The interior of their temples contain only one image, entirely similar to the Śākyamuni Buddha, which they call Po-lai (Preah). It is dressed in red. Made of clay, it is ornamented with vermilion and blue. The Buddhas of the towers are different and all cast of bronze. There is no bell, nor drums, nor cymbals, nor votive offering of silk-pendants, nor canopy. All the bonzes eat fish and meat, but do not drink wine. In their offerings to the Buddha, they use also fish and meat. They make one meal a day, prepared in the family of a host; for in the temples there is no kitchen. The texts they recite are very numerous. All are composed of palm leaves. Certain bonzes have the right to a palanquin and a gold or silver handled parasol. The prince consults them in grave affairs.' *TAKE*, p. 218.

[5]*BEFEO*, II, p. 148 fn. 6. The Siamese term khru or khuru or Guru or Sir.

[6]*TMSEA*, p. 194. [7]*HB*, III, p. 126. [8]*AHSEA*, p. 120; *TAKE*, p. 248.

[9]*TASMS*, VIII, pp. 533ff; *BEFEO*, XXXVI, pp. 14ff.

providing somewhat more detail. The use of Pali in the inscription is probably an indication of the existence of Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia at this time. This is perhaps the earliest Pali inscription found in Cambodia and was composed by Śrī Śrīndravarman or Indravarman III after his abdication in favour of the Yuvarāja who was his relative[1]. Indravarman III after his abdication perhaps went to the forest monastery and became a Buddhist monk and devoted himself to the study and practice of Theravāda Buddhism. This inscription records that king Indravarman III ascended the throne of Yasodharapura, the capital of Cambodia in Śaka 1218= AD 1296 and in Śaka 1230=AD 1308 he gave a village named Sirindaratanagāma to Mahāthera, Siri Sirindamoli.[2] The title Mahāthera is known to have been conferred on the chief thera of Ceylon. It is possible that this Mahāthera referred to in the Cambodian inscription was in some way connected with Sīhaḷa Buddhism.

L.P. Briggs thinks that it is unlikely that the Thai or Siamese people of Sukhodaya, who invaded Cambodia proper, were responsible for the introduction of Hinayāna Buddhism in Cambodia.[3] He argues that "they were comparatively newcomers in the Khmer Empire, were more or less hostile to the Khmers, and were comparatively new converts to Hinayānism."[4] According to him the Mon people from Lopburi on the lower Menam valley and Khmer settlers from Lopburi, who fled away from that region during Siamese invasions in the thirteenth century and who came to Cambodia, were mainly responsible for the introduction of Sīhaḷa Buddhism in Cambodia.[5] It is quite certain that Khmer rule existed over several regions of the Menam valley for several centuries. It is very probable that the Khmer people who settled in the Mon region of Lopburi adopted Theravāda Buddhism under the influence of the Mon culture and when they settled in Cambodia during Siamese invasions, they helped to establish Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia. Therefore the conclusion of L.P. Briggs is not without justification. We cannot rule out the possibility that Siam too played a part in the popularisation of Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia. Chou Ta-Kuan records that before Indravarman III

[1] *BEFEO*, XXXVI, p. 14; *TMSEA*, p. 195.
[2] ibid, XXXVI, pp. 14ff; *TASMS*, VIII, p. 533.
[3] *TAKE*, p. 242. [4] ibid, p. 242. [5] ibid, p. 242.

came to power, the Siamese people invaded Cambodia proper.[1] It is quite natural that growing power of Siam had not only exercised an influence on the political history of Cambodia but made a contribution to the establishment and development of Theravāda Buddhism there. At this time Theravāda Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in Siam. It is very probable that with the Siamese invaders, Siamese Buddhist monks visited Cambodia and played an important role in the religious history of Cambodia.

A Sanskrit inscription belonging to the reign of Indrajayavarman (AD 1308-1327) in which several Pali words occur has been found near Baray, a tank near Angkor Thom in Northern Cambodia.[2] It refers to the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha and the Kuṭī 'dwelling house for monks,' constructed by the 'Saṃtec braḥ Guru' 'Spiritual Master' of this king.[3] The use of Pali in this inscription shows the existence of Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia in the fourteenth century AD.

There is evidence to show that in the reign of Jayavarman Parameśvara (AD 1327-1353)[4] Cambodia played an important role in the development of Buddhism in Laos. According to Paul Le Boulanger, the chronicles of Laos state that Phi-Fa, son of the king of Lang Chang in Laos having offended his father, fled from his country with his infant son Praya Fa Num or Fa-Ngum shortly after AD 1316 and took shelter at the Court of Angkor in Cambodia.[5] Phi-Fa and his son Fa-Ngum stayed many years at the Court of Angkor. According to the chronicles of Laos, Fa-Ngum was brought up by Mahā Pasaman Chao (P'ra Mahāsamana), a Buddhist monk of Cambodia.[6] According to Finot, Mahā Pasaman is probably an alternative of Mahā P'ra Samana.[7] It is quite certain that Mahā Pasaman Chao occupied an important position in the religious history of Cambodia at this time. There is evidence to show that in the first half of the fourteenth century AD, there was a Siamese monk at Sukhodaya, whose name was Sumana or Mahā Samana thera.[8] He received the upasampadā ordination at the hands of a famous Sinhalese Mahāthera named Udumbara Mahāsāmī. He played an important role in the development of Sīhala Buddhism at Sukhodaya, Nabbisipura and Haripuñjaya. As

[1] *AHSEA*, p. 120. [2] *IC*, VII, pp. 34ff. [3] ibid, pp. 34-35.
[4] *AHSEA*, p. 875. [5] *HLF*, pp. 41-66. [6] *LEHII*, p. 373.
[7] *BEFEO*, XVII, p. 165 fn. 2. [8] pp. 142-143.

already observed Siam had exercised a strong influence in religious history of Cambodia and Cambodian monks are known by the Siamese name Chu-ku.[1] As the two names Mahā Pasaman Chao and Mahā Sumana thera or Sumana thera closely resemble each other and because both monks lived in the same period it is perhaps not impossible that the two are identical. This would indicate the influence of Siam on the religion of Cambodia.

Jayavarman Parameśvara, the king of Cambodia, gave Fa-Ngum one of his daughters named Keo Lot Fa in marriage.[2] Then he helped Phi-Fa and Fa-Ngum to establish the independent kingdom of Lan Chang with its capital at Moung Chava (now known as Luang Prabang) in AD 1353.[3] Vien Chang (Vientiane) and Luang Prabang were under the political hegemony of Sukhodaya up to the middle of the fourteenth century AD.[4] Towards the middle of the fourteenth century AD the kingdom of Sukhodaya declined politically and the centre of politics shifted to the Ayuthia kingdom. The transfer of political power from Sukhodaya in North-Central Siam to Ayuthia in Southern Siam gave Fa-Ngum the opportunity to establish the independent Laotian kingdom of Lan Chang.[5] The inscription of the Sumanakūṭaparvata of Sukhodaya in Siam, belonging to the reign of Luthai, while describing the boundaries of his kingdom, refers to Cau Brañā Fa Nom (Chao Praya Fa Ngom or Fa-Ngum).[6] It states that the territory of Fa-Ngum was situated in the eastern side of the kingdom of Luthai of Sukhodaya.[7] From this inscription it is clear that Fa-Ngum was reigning in Laos in the second half of the fourteenth century AD.

The establishment of the independent kingdom of Lan Chang in Laos which included both the Luang Prabang and Vien Chang areas in about the middle of the fourteenth century AD by Fa-Ngum opens a new epoch in the history of Buddhism in Laos. It marks the re-establishment of Khmer influence over this region. L.P. Briggs states that owing to the efforts of the wife of Fa-Ngum, the daughter of Jayavarman Parameśvara, the king of Cambodia, the Laotians were converted to Hinayāna Buddhism.[8] The Wat Keo inscription dated Śakkarāj 964=AD 1602[9] relates that the religion of

[1]pp. 181-182. [2]*LEHII*, p. 373; *AHSEA*, p. 126. [3]ibid, p. 126; *TMSEA*, p. 172.
[4]*TAKE*, p. 254. [5]*TBLC*, p. 63; *TMSEA*, p. 172.
[6]*RIS*, I, p. 129; *LEHII*, p. 374. [7]ibid, I, p. 129.
[8]*TAKE*, p. 254; *AHSEA*, p. 121. [9]*BEFEO*, XL, p. 419.

the Buddha was not so well-known at this time in the kingdom of Lan Chang. At the request of the king of Laos, a religious mission consisting of Mahā Pasaman, Fa-Ngum's old teacher, a Buddha statue, Buddhist texts and monks from Cambodia reached Laos.[1] The Wat Keo inscription refers to three Mahātheras who came to Laos with Mahā Pasaman from Cambodia. They were Mahādeva Laṅkā Cao (Chao), the elder brother, P'ra Mahādeva Laṅkā, the younger brother and Mahā Nandipañña Cao. It states that they all came from Laṅkā to Cambodia. These monks probably played an important role in the development and popularisation of Sīhaḷa Buddhism in Cambodia. Apart from this inscription nothing is known of Cambodia's cultural links with Ceylon at this time from the records of the two countries.

The upper Mekong valley in Northern Siam was ruled by Jayavarman VII at the end of the twelfth century AD. An inscription of Jayavarman VII dated Śaka 1108=AD 1186 in the Sanskrit language has been found at Say Fong on the Mekong close to Vien Change in Laos.[2] At this time when the Khmers established their political and cultural influence over Laos the Thais who were there came into contact with the Khmers.[3] The reign of Jayavarman VII marked the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Cambodia.[4] It is very possible that the Thais of this region became followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism when they were under Khmer rule. Towards the end of the thirteenth century AD. Rāma Khamheng of Sukhodaya conquered the country up to Moung Chava in Laos and until the middle of the fourteenth century AD it was a dependency of Sukhodaya.[5] During this period Sukhodaya was an important centre of Theravāda Buddhism. It had even established cultural relations with Ceylon through the intermediary of neighbouring Buddhist countries.[6] While Moung Chava was under Sukhodaya it is possible that the people of this region came into contact with Theravāda Buddhism. The beginning of the fourteenth century AD witnessed Cambodia's political and cultural connections with Laos.[7] The religious history of the fourteenth century AD shows that Theravāda Buddhism flourished in Cambodia at this

[1] *BEFEO*, pp. 411-423.
[2] ibid, III, p. 18; *IC*, VIII, pp. 492ff; *AHSEA*, p. 112.
[3] *RIS*, I, p. 112.
[4] p. 179.
[5] *TAKE*, p. 254.
[6] pp. 134-142.
[7] pp. 181ff.

time and religious ties existed between Ceylon, Siam and Cambodia. This Cambodia's political and cultural links with Laos not only led to the establishment of the independent kingdom of Lan Chang in Laos but also resulted in a fresh impact of Theravāda Buddhism.

The Jinakālamālī gives an account of the cultural connections between Cambodia and Ceylon in the fifteenth century AD. It states that 1967 years after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha i.e. in AD 1423, eight monks headed by Mahāñāṇasiddhi from Cambodia with twenty-five monks from Nabbisipura in Siam came to Ceylon to receive the upasampadā ordination at the hands of the Sinhalese Mahātheras.[1] Afterwards six Mon monks from the Rāmañña country joined this party.[2] The king of Ceylon at this time was Parākramabāhu VI of Jayavardhanapura (Kotte). Having studied the sacred texts from the Mahātheras in Ceylon, they were ordained in the presence of a Chapter of twenty Sīhaḷa Mahātheras 1968 years after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha i.e. in AD 1424 at Yāpāpaṭṭana in Kalyāṇī.[3] Vanaratana Mahāsāmī and Dhammācariya acted as the Kammavācācariya and upajjhāya respectively.[4] Details of this description have already been discussed.[5] Although no Ceylon or Cambodian source makes any reference to a Cambodian mission to Ceylon the account of the Jinakālamālī relating to this incident may be accepted as fairly accurate. This period in Cambodian history was one of political confusions and foreign invasions. The Siamese and Chams were engaged in war with the Khmers.[6] It is during these years of political turmoil that the Jinakālamālī refers to the religious intercourse between Cambodia, Ceylon and Siam. Therefore, the evidence of the Jinakālamālī reveals that political differences between Cambodia and Siam did not impede religious connections between them. This book, however, does not give any information regarding the activities of the Cambodian monks after their arrival in Cambodia. According to the chronology of the kings of Cambodia, Sorijovong or Sorijong or Lambang (AD 1416-1425) was reigning in Cambodia at this time.[7]

An undated inscription in which several Pali words occur has

[1] *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 49. [2] ibid, p. 50. [3] ibid, p. 50.
[4] ibid, p. 50. [5] pp. 155-158. [6] *AHSEA*, pp. 122-123.
[7] ibid, p. 875.

been found at Kompong Svai in Eastern Cambodia.[1] According to Coedès, it belongs to the fifteenth century.[2] It refers to a monk whose name was Laṅkā...... Śrīyasa,[3] who had entered the Sāsana (Buddhist Saṅgha). He is said to have taught the Dhamma to royal princes. He did various meritorious acts to popularise the religion of the Buddha.[4] The king conferred a title on this great man Svāmī Silaviryyādhika Boddhisambhāra....Saṅghaparicāra Mahāpurusha.[5] These details are not sufficient to identify him with any known thera from Ceylon. But it is quite certain that Laṅkā......Śrīyasa was a learned man and played an important role in the religious history of Cambodia during this period. The name Laṅkā associated with this monk perhaps indicates that he was from Ceylon.

Buddhism continued to flourish in Cambodia in the sixteenth century AD Ang Chan (AD 1516-1566),[6] a relative of king Dhammarāja, was a devout Buddhist. He built pagodas in his capital and many Buddhist shrines in different places such as Pursat, Baboor and Udong in Cambodia.[7] A stone inscription of AD 1579 states that in order to popularise Buddhism Satha (AD 1576-1594), son and successor of Barom Reachea, restored the great towers of the Angkor Wat and built new summits to them and covered them with gold.[8] The Angkor Wat, the viṣṇu temple, which was built by Sūryavarman II (AD 1113-1150), had become a Buddhist shrine by the sixteenth century AD. An inscription at the Angkor Wat dated AD 1587 refers to the establishment of images of the Buddha and the restoration of the towers with the four faces by a minister of the court of Cambodia.[9]

The history of Cambodia in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries AD is nothing but a series of petty quarrels, intrigues, wars with the neighbouring countries and rebellions in which the kings played the most important role. This period of Cambodian history is marked with continuous warfare between the kings of Cambodia and Siam and Vietnam. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Siam interfered in Cambodia's politics. It captured Cambodia's territories and exercised a great influence in the royal court of Cambodia. Due to the repeated invasions of Siam and Vietnam and internal revolt Cambodia passed through a

1ibid, p. 37. 2*IC*, VII, pp. 37-39. 3ibid, p. 37.
4ibid, pp. 38-39. 5ibid, p. 39. 6*AHSEA*, p. 128.
7ibid, p. 128. 8ibid, pp. 129-131. 9ibid, p. 131.

very troublesome period. Politically the country had sunk to a very low level. It had lost its glory. The kings of these periods were weak rulers and engaged themselves in petty personal politics. They were not in a position to recover their country's lost glory and to establish it on a solid foundation.

It is true that the political situation was not favourable towards the progress of Buddhism and the rulers did not get the opportunity to devote their time to the development of Buddhism. Siam's interference in Cambodia's politics also helped the former to influence the latter's religious world. With the help of its. Buddhist Saṅgha and monks Cambodia developed its religion. Though Siam disturbed Cambodia's politics and hampered its progress but the Siamese kings and their Buddhist world made a great contribution to the progress of Buddhism in Cambodia.

Fa-Ngum of Laos was succeeded by his son Oun Hueun (AD 1373-1416). He is P'aya Sam Sene T'ai in the chronicles of Laos.[1] He restored order in the country. His reign was peaceful and prosperous. He was a good administrator. He established friendly relations with his neighbours, Annam and Siam. He was a good patron of Buddhism. For its development he constructed monasteries and established many religious institutions in his kingdom.[2] His capital Lang Chang became the important centre of Buddhism. But towards the end of the fifteenth century due to Annam's aggressive policy Lang Chang was about to fall. But Tene Kham fought against the Annamites and defeated them. He drove out these invaders.[3] At the end of the war he ascended the throne of Lang Chang (AD 1479-1486). He established peace in his kingdom and maintained friendly relations with his neighbours.[4]

After king Visoum (AD 1501-1520) his son P'otisarat took the throne (AD 1520-1547). He was a Buddhist and in his reign Buddhism flourished. At that time the people of Lang Chang used to worship trees, snakes, ghosts, spirits etc. But P'otisarat tried to stop all these practices and did his best to establish Buddhism in his kingdom.[5]

Nokeo Koumane came to the throne in AD 1591 and he reigned for about six years. In AD 1591 he declared himself as the king of Vientiane.[6] In his reign the country prospered. His son Souligna-

[1] *AHSEA*, pp. 260-261. [2] ibid, p, 261. [3] ibid. p. 261.
[4] ibid, p. 261. [5] ibid, p. 261. [6] ibid, p. 444.

Vongsa succeeded him (AD 1637-1694). His reign was important in the history of Laos.[1] He ruled the country efficiently and re-established its lost glory. He maintained friendly relations with his neighbours. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century AD we find the division of Souligna-Vongsa's kingdom into two states. Luang Prabang and Vientiane became the capitals of two states.[2] King Kitsarat was the ruler of Luang Prabang (AD 1707-1726). The ruler of Vientiane was Sai-ong-Hue (AD 1707-1735).[3] These two states revolted against each other and in this connection Burma, Siam and Annam appeared in the political history of Laos. Towards the end of the eighteenth century these two states became the vassal states of the Bangkok dynasty of Siam.[4]

Cambodia and Siam made a valuable contribution to the progress of Buddhism in Laos. Although these two countries adopted expansionist policies towards Laos, harassed it and interfered in its politics, but regarding the religious matters they showed their friendly attitude. Not only they repaired the damage done by them in the religious world during the war, they gave helpful support in the religion of Laos. With their help Laos developed its religion and became one of the important centres of Theravāda Buddhism in South-east Asia.

The religious history of Cambodia shows that Śaivism and Mahāyana Buddhism predominated there in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. Vaiṣṇavism too was practised there. The second half of the twelfth century AD witnessed Cambodia's political and cultural connections with Ceylon. At this time Ceylon's fame as the fountain-head of Theravāda Buddhism reached the Buddhist countries of South-east Asia. The knowledge of Sīhaḷa Buddhism was so widespread and the Sīhaḷa monks were so well-known to the contemporary Buddhist world that at this time a Cambodian prince visited Ceylon to study Sīhaḷa Buddhism under the able guidance of the Sinhalese Mahātheras. At the end of the thirteenth century there were three religious sects in Cambodia. The Siamese term Chu-ku given to the Cambodian monks by Chou Ta-kuan at the end of the thirteenth century AD may be taken as an indication of the religious influence of Siam on Cambodia. The appearance of Pali inscriptions from about the beginning of the fourteenth century

[1] *AHSEA*, p. 444. [2] ibid, p. 447. [3] ibid, p. 447.
[4] ibid, pp. 449 and 881.

AD indicates the existence of Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia. Cambodia played an important role in the development of Theravāda Buddhism in Laos in AD 1353 when the kingdom of Lang Chang was founded by Fa-Ngum who was the son-in-law of the king of Cambodia. A Laotian document of the seventeenth century indicates Cambodia's connection with Laos in about the middle of the fourteenth century AD. In the fifteenth century AD there was religious intercourse between Cambodia and Ceylon. Several Cambodian monks visited Ceylon to study the sacred texts and to receive the upasampadā ordination at the hands of the Sinhalese Mahātheras. Thus at this time Sīhaḷa Buddhism was established in Cambodia. This form of Buddhism continues in Cambodia up to the present day. Though Siam disturbed Cambodia's politics the Siamese kings and their Buddhist world made a great contribution to the progress of Buddhism in Cambodia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries AD. With the help of Cambodia and Siam Laos developed its religion and became one of the important centres of Theravāda Buddhism in South-east Asia.

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